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CAZENOVE JOURNAL

1794

A RECORD OF THE JOURNEY OF THEOPHILE CAZENOVE THROUGH NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH)

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PREFACE

Seldom probably does so small a volume as this one owe its existence to so many craftsmen.

For help in translating and in the far more difficult task of transcribing the original manuscript the editor is in great debt to his chief, President William W. Comfort, and his colleague, Mr. J. McF. Carpenter, of Haverford College; also to Lieutenant Joseph Folliguet, of Chamonix, France, and Mademoiselle Gabrielle de Croze, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. For careful scrutiny and helpful criticism of the finished work of the editor, sincere thanks are extended to Professor William E. Lunt, of Haverford College. The Index was compiled by Miss Mary Ellis of the New York State Library School.

In the work of gathering material on the life of Theophile Cazenove and on the localities mentioned in his Journal generous help has been given by libraries and individuals in many places. Especial mention is due in this connection to the Library of Congress, the New York Historical Society, the New Jersey Historical Society, the Buffalo Historical Society; Mr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian of Pennsylvania; Miss Mary P. Parsons, Librarian of the Public Library, Morristown, New Jersey; Mr. A. J. F. Van Laer, Archivist of the State of New York; Reverend William A. Schwarze, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Reverend P. S. Meinert, of Nazareth, Pennsylvania; Mr. Albert Cook Myers, of Moylan

Pennsylvania, and Mr. Louis de Cazenove, Jr., of New York City.

Mr. A. C. Huidekoper, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, kindly supplied the present writer with a letter of introduction to his obliging cousin, Mr. C. P. Van Eeghen, of Amsterdam, Netherlands. Mrs. Charles S. (Helen Lincklaen) Fairchild, of Cazenovia, New York, has rendered untiring service which has been most valuable on account of her wide knowledge of men and matters connected with the Holland Land Company. Professor Paul D. Evans, of Syracuse University, New York, has contributed material information gathered during his researches in Amsterdam, prior to the visit of the present writer to that city. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, has been ready as ever, with open-handed help. By personal advice and through the efficient machinery of his department, the gathering of material in the United States and in France has been facilitated.

One memory will always cling about this little book. It is the last in a series of historical tasks for which the present writer has gained encouragement and inspiration from his revered and beloved friend and counselor, Isaac Sharpless, formerly President of Haverford College. *Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena.*

Finally the most sincere gratitude is due and is hereby expressed to those friends of the editor and of Haverford College who constitute the Pennsylvania History Press and have made possible the publication of this Journal. R. W. K.

Haverford, Pa., December 1, 1921.

INTRODUCTION

The original French manuscript, of which the following is a translation, was purchased by the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., in 1900, from a Paris dealer. It is a small book and the writing is so fine and so filled with erasures and interlineations that great difficulty was experienced in deciphering many parts of it. For help in this task the editor is indebted to several of his friends and colleagues, as mentioned in the Preface, but especially to Lieutenant Joseph Folliguet, of the French Army.

The *Journal* is entirely anonymous, and singularly free from those personal allusions that so frequently lead to the determination of authorship. The principal clues in the body of the text are the references indicating that the writer had lived in Holland, traveled in France, and latterly had been for some years in Philadelphia.

A further sign post was set up by the servant who kept the accounts of the journey, and stated in his summary the surplus remaining to the credit of "Mr. C." Moreover, the letter of introduction handed by the traveler to General William Irvine (see below, p. 55) lay patiently among the *Irvine Papers* in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, awaiting its opportunity to help in the work of identification.[1]

[1] A further proof of Cazenove's authorship was found in a comparison of the hand-writing of the Journal with that of several autograph letters, signed by Cazenove,—one in the Library of the New York Historical Society, and several in the Library of the Buffalo Hist. Soc., and the Library of Congress.

As the Journalist had indicated more than once his acquaintance with Governor Thomas Mifflin, it was not surprising to find that the letter to General Irvine, which follows, was written by none other:

Sir: Mr. Cazenove a gentlemen for whom I have a sincere esteem, proposes making an excursion into the interior parts of Pennsylvania, and will, probably pass through your neighborhood. Should that be the case, permit me to recommend him to your most cordial civilities. Your disposition to oblige, and the personal respectability of Mr. Cazenove would, I am confident, sufficiently secure your attention to this introduction; but it may not be improper to add, that few gentlemen have contributed more to place the State of Pennsylvania in a favorable light to European Emigrants, and none can be more solicitous to promote its improvement and prosperity.

I am, with great regard,
Sir
Your Most Obed.t Hbl.e Serv.t
THO. MIFLIN[2]

Philadelphia
25th June 1794

This letter made the circumstantial evidence rather complete, but there was still a chance that more than one traveler passed through Pennsylvania in 1794 bearing letters of introduction from Governor Mifflin. So the final and complete proof of authorship came from another source.

The writer of the *Journal* fixed October 28, 1794, as the day of his sojourn with the Moravians at Nazareth, Pennsylvania (see p. 19 below). Happily the official *Diarium* of the Moravian Church at Nazareth is still in existence. For October 28, 1794, it contains the following entry:

[2] *Irvine Papers*, XII, 62.

"Ein Herr von Holland, Theophilus Cassanove, der Agent einer holländischer Compagnie ist, und vom Gouverneur Mifflin ein empfehlungs Schreiben an Bruder Etwein hatte, sah sich heute hier und in Christiansbrunn alles mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit und Theilnahme um, und wohnte auch Abends der Versammlung bei, erkaufte verschiedene unserer Gemeinschriften und ging den 29 von hier nach Bethlehem."

Since discovering the above evidence at Bethlehem the present writer has had the privilege of visiting Amsterdam. There, by the courtesy of Mr. C. P. Van Eeghen, he has been permitted to examine the old letter books of Theophile Cazenove, sixteen of which are preserved, covering the period 1790 to 1799. There is also a small box of original Cazenove letters.

On October 14, 1794, Cazenove wrote from New York to S. Stadnitski, Amsterdam, referring specifically to his projected journey into the interior of Pennsylvania. On November 25, 1794, having completed his journey, he wrote from Philadelphia outlining his itinerary and mentioning the extensive notes taken *en route*. (*Cazenove Letter Book*, XIII, pp. 55, 61.)

The mass of material in the Cazenove correspondence belongs to the history of the Holland Land Company rather than to the brief introduction to this *Journal*.

Theophile Cazenove was descended from a branch of the French Cazenove family that migrated to Switzerland in the latter half of the 16th century, during the religious persecutions in France. He was

born in Amsterdam, October 13, 1740, and in 1763 married Margaret Helen van Jever, whose father was a wealthy and prominent citizen of Amsterdam.[3] In middle life Cazenove was prosperous financially but owing to financial reverses his fortunes waned and he became dependent largely upon employment for a livelihood. There are records in Amsterdam showing how at a later period, while on a salary, he was paying back the obligations that he could not meet at the time of his financial débâcle.

In the days of his prosperity Cazenove had been associated with those Dutch financiers whose loans were so vital to the struggling young republic of the New World. The story of how those far-sighted sons of Holland foresaw the future greatness of America and decided to expand and make permanent their investments in the New World is too long a tale for this paper. Suffice it to say that they seem not to have lost confidence in Cazenove on account of his business misfortunes, and he seems still to have been capable of some financial undertakings in his own name.

Thus, in 1788 Cazenove subscribed to the fund that financed Brissot de Warville's journey to the United States to investigate the question of investments in the debts of the country, state and national. Late the following year Cazenove was himself planning a journey to America to conduct operations in person. On November 30, 1789, he made a contract with four of the strongest Dutch banking firms of that day according to which he was to carry on their financial operations in America. His salary

[3] Helen Lincklaen Fairchild (editor), *Travels of John Lincklaen*, 131–132; Raoul de Cazenove, *Rapin-Thoyras* (Paris, 1866), p. ccxxvi.

was to be 8,000 florins per annum.[4] Brissot, back in Paris, wrote, November 27, 1789, introducing Cazenove to William Duer, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Hamilton: "He (Cazenove) is to settle himself in America, and I believe to make some speculations in your funds. I am sure knowing your obliging temper, you'll give him good informations about his speculations; and I'll be much obliged to you to do it and to introduce him to your acquaintances."[5]

Armed with this letter and others from the Dutch bankers who were his employers in the enterprise, he arrived in America in March, 1790, and at once began active operations. He invested largely, and for the most part fortunately, in various depreciated securities, buying of one man more than $100,000 in South Carolina debt.[6]

About two years after this time, when the speculation in American debts had been vindicated by Hamilton's funding and assumption policy, the Dutch financiers turned their attention more especially to investments in public lands. The results of this policy were the formation of the Holland Land Company and its extensive dealings in New York and Pennsylvania lands. Theophile Cazenove became the first General Agent of this Company, serving it until his return to Europe in 1799.[7]

An early historian of the Holland Company's activities has written of Cazenove as follows:

[4] Data kindly supplied by Mr. Paul D. Evans, of Syracuse Univ., N. Y., from his notes taken in Amsterdam.

[5] From *Duer Papers* quoted in Davis, *American Corporations*, I, 189–190.

[6] Davis, *American Corporations*, I, 193 and note.

[7] Cazenove was also a stockholder in the *Pennsylvania Population Co.*, formed in 1792. See letter of James Gibson, Sept. 26, 1842, quoted at close of Huidekoper, *Hist. of Holland Co. in Pa.*, Mss. in Penna. Hist. Soc. Library.

"When the Company made their first purchases of lands in the interior of this state, and Pennsylvania —soon after 1790—he had arrived in this country, and acted as their agent. In all the negotiations and preliminary proceedings, connected with the large purchase of Mr. Morris, of this region, the interests of the Company were principally confided to him. His name is intimately blended with the whole history of the title. When the purchase was perfected, he was made the General Agent, and under his auspices the surveys commenced. The author can only judge of him from such manuscript records as came from his hands. They exhibit good business qualifications and great integrity of purpose. In all the embarrassments that attended the perfection of the title, he would seem to have been actuated by honorable and praiseworthy motives; and to have assisted with a good deal of ability the legal managers of the Company's interests."[8]

It was in the flush of his early interest in the land speculations of the Holland Company that Cazenove made his journey through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as recorded in the following *Journal.*

Upon his personality and manner of life some light can be thrown. He associated with the aristocratic group of Frenchmen, in America at that period, men who were dubbed "émigrés" by the fiery Republicans. The Journal of Moreau de Saint-Méry pictures the latter group marching through the streets of New York in a great Fourth of July parade,—"a long procession of French Jacobins," with citizen Genêt among them, singing and shouting, and hurling invectives toward the windows where appeared Talleyrand, Beaumetz,

[8] O. Turner, *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York* (Buffalo, 1850), 425.

Cazenove, La Coulombe, Le Baron de la Roche, and Saint-Méry.[9]

Cazenove lived well,—and paid for it with gout in his later days. The following *Journal* testifies to his appetite for good food and choice drinks. Hardly a tavern does he mention without a comment on the quality of its accommodations. He traveled with a coach and four, an extra saddle horse, a valet, coachman, and postilion. At his home on Market Street, in Philadelphia, inviting dinners were served, and liberally patronized by his noted friends. "Talleyrand and Beaumetz live together," writes a chronicler of 1795, "but they both eat at Cazenove's on Market Street,—thus the expression 'dine with us' means with Cazenove."[10] Talleyrand, in his *Memoirs*, does not mention the dinners, but speaks with cynical appreciation of how "useful" Cazenove was to him during his visit to America.[11]

Cazenove returned to Europe in 1799. He stayed some time in London but spent most of his remaining years on the continent. For about two years he remained in the employ of the Dutch bankers, trying to help them realize on their American lands.

[9] S. L. Mims (editor), *Voyage aux Etats-Unis . . . by Moreau de Saint-Méry*, 139.

[10] S. L. Mims (editor), *Voyage aux Etats-Unis . . . by Moreau de Saint-Méry*, 194—The Phila. City Directory of 1793 contains "Carenove (sic), Theophilus, gentleman, 276 High St." High St. was the early name for Market St.

[11] *Talleyrand, Memoirs of* (French edn., 1891), I, 232; (N. Y. edn. 1891–92), I, 175. More detailed comment on Cazenove's personality and career in America, would perhaps be out of proportion in an introduction to this *Journal*. Much light will no doubt be thrown upon his business activities by the researches in the History of the Holland Land Co., now being carried on by Mr. Paul D. Evans, of Syracuse University. Some interesting data are to be found in A. de Cazenove, *Quatre Siècles* (Nimes, 1908), p. 159 f. According to this authority (p. 169) T. Cazenove became a naturalized citizen of the United States in December 1794.

In this effort the documents mention his activities at Paris, Lyons, and even at Lausanne where for a time he roused the curiosity of the famous Necker.

His last years were spent in Paris. There Talleyrand had again risen to power, this time in Napoleon's government. The papers are apparently not extant that would show Cazenove's exact relation to Talleyrand in these years, but it was probably somewhat in the nature of confidential adviser, especially in matters pertaining to Holland and America. At least he was again "useful" to the wily minister in advising him on the kind of American securities to demand in payment for Louisiana.[12]

Cazenove died at Paris, March 6, 1811.[13] The testimony of his friend, Paul Busti, his successor as General Agent of the Holland Land Company in America, ought to be recorded in this connection. Writing to his friend, Colonel John Lincklaen, June 12, 1811, he said:

"Our old friend, Mr. Theophilus Cazenove, died some time in March in Paris. . . . His strict principles of honour made him apply the earnings of his mature age to the payment of the arrears of his youth. Grown old, his generous heart shared with a prodigal hand the small savings he may have laid up in Holland during the few years he was the prime minister of the H. L. C. [Holland Land Co.], and probably in the same way evaporated the riches it has been repeatedly asserted that he had amassed in financial operations with his friend and protector, Talleyrand. I give this opinion only from reasoning

[12] Henry Adams (ed.) *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, I, 142. See also A. de Cazenove, *Quatre Siècles*, 169–171.

[13] "Il mourut dans sa maison de la rue du Bac, No. 84, pavillon au fond du jardin."—A. de Cazenove, *Quatre Siècles*, p. 170, note.

deduced from the knowledge of Mr. Theophile's character, for as to the particulars of his life in Paris I know nothing but what I have been told, that he died poor, abandoned by Talleyrand."[14]

Such in brief outline, is the story of Theophile Cazenove's life. The city of Cazenovia, New York, named after him, is his permanent memorial in the United States, and the following *Journal* is his contribution to the story of American life in his day.

In an account so packed with details as the following there must be some inaccuracies. Much of the data was necessarily taken from hearsay and written down later from memory. This limitation applies of course to practically all journals of the kind. *Par exemple* the distances from town to town as given by Cazenove are probably his own estimates or those given by local informants. These have been found to be inaccurate in a few instances but for the most part they are remarkably exact. Of course the least valuable parts for historical purposes are those entirely dependent upon hearsay and covering subjects with which Cazenove was not conversant. His notes on the history and organization of the Moravians contain inaccuracies. On the other hand his record of industrial and farming conditions lay within the field of his special interest and personal observation. His reports have been proved to be remarkably exact in many respects by the present writer in a recent journey over much of the same route. A minor but interesting incident was a call upon the present occupants of the Big Spring property (p. 43 below). The modern *voyageur* asked the lady of the house whether there were fish in the

[14] Letter in possession of Helen Lincklaen Fairchild, Cazenovia, N. Y.

spring, and she answered, "Yes, trout." He remarked again that the pool looked quite deep, and she replied, "Eighteen feet at the deepest." So the honor of the early journalist was vindicated even in matters of minute detail.

There is little of literary merit in the Cazenove *Journal* because it represents only the rough notes taken along the way. In a letter to Amsterdam just after concluding the journey (Nov. 25, 1794) Cazenove wrote that he had taken extensive notes on the trip and hoped to write them up in finished form during the following winter. This was probably never done. At least no such copy of the journal has been found after a somewhat extended search on two continents. In lieu of literary merit, however, Cazenove pressed into his little note-book more solid fact to the square inch than exists in any journal of early American travel with which the present writer is conversant, barring neither Rochefoucauld nor Schoepf from the lists.

Nor is an elevation of thought lacking when Cazenove reflects occasionally on the social poverty of the hard, sordid life of the frontier, or on the peace and plenty that abounded in a religious community like that of the Moravians (p. 23 below).

Some humor also has bubbled up occasionally to refresh the desert days of transcription and translation. The story of Van Beverhoudt's cats is not bad (p. 6 below). The social scenes at Lancaster during sessions of Court are at least lively (p. 74 below). Best of all is the unconscious drollery of Cazenove's body servant who kept the accounts. If he forgot the name of Chambersburg, what more

suitable than to write it Roomtown! (See "Roumetonne," p. 90 below.)

In the following translation the conventional editorial signs have been used, the chief ones being brackets to enclose words supplied by the editor. It should be mentioned that a succession of three dots represents an omission on account of illegible words in the original manuscript, while a long dash indicates that Cazenove himself left the space blank.

R. W. K.

Haverford College,
Haverford, Pennsylvania.

ITINERARY

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CAZENOVE JOURNAL

1794

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

Page 1 of Manuscript

New Jerseys 8 s[hillings] to the dollar

On October 21st 1794, left New York at 10 'clock, in a carriage drawn by 2 horses; my saddle horse, the coachman and Petit.

Arrived at Newark, New Jersey, 8 miles distant, at 4 o'clock; lodged at Giffort's.[1]

Oct. 22. Meeting of the directors and stockholders of the Manufacturers' Company[2] established in Paterson, 14 miles from Newark. N. B.—Learned that a large cloth-printing factory is going to be established in Pompton, situated 8 miles from Paterson, under the direction of Mr. John Davies [Daniels?]. N.B.—They do not know who furnishes the money for this undertaking; they suspect D.

Academy of Latin and English and reading and writing and French: prepares for college.

90 scholars, £ 6 per year
£ 25 room in town, boarding and lessons.

A Liberty bonnet on a pole in the middle of the village; a furnace where cast-iron stoves are made.

[1] Probably at the inn kept by Archer Gifford. See Joseph Atkinson, *History of Newark, New Jersey* (Newark, 1878), p. 162; F. J. Urquhart, *Short History of Newark.* (Newark, 1916), p. 76.

[2] This reference is to The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, which marked the economic beginnings of Paterson.

The city, very pretty, full of shoemakers, and shoe and boot factories, sell from ten to thirteen thousand dollars worth a year; undertook yesterday 20 thousand pairs of shoes for the army, at 1 dollar a pair. A factory for cotton, and wool and cotton stockings.

Eight looms [tended] by young boys, [make] excellent white and blue stockings, but at 10 s.,—a dollar and a quarter.

Mrs. Capron keeps a girl's school of 20 scholars, boarders and day pupils.[3] She teaches them French, Drawing, Sewing and Embroidery, for $10 a quarter. Tuition and board, laundry, heat, etc., cost £ 52 or $130 a year without the afternoon session,—arithmetic, music, geography; for these the ladies can go at small cost to the Academy and take lessons under the supervision of the Newark teachers.

Someone broke into the carriage at night and carried off some pieces of luggage,—these were recovered because the parties were detected in the act.

Page 2 of Manuscript

Thursday [Oct.] 23, Left Newark at 9 o'clock in the morning. At Springfield, 9 miles, at 11 o'clock: pleasant journey; fresh cultivation. A stained wall-paper factory, a large and fine tan-yard; a liberty-bonnet on a pole in the center of the village.

At Chatham, 3 miles, had dinner at Day's,[4] very good stopping place, clean, a big Bible on the table under the mirror; district of 1½ miles square; from Springfield to Chatham the ground very bad, sand

[3] Madame Capron had formerly conducted a school in Elizabeth, N. J. Her advertisements appear in *The New Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer*, Apr. 27, 1791, p. 3; *Woods's Newark Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1793, p. 4.

[4] Probably at Timothy Day's inn.—C. A. Philhower, *Brief History of Chatham* (N. Y., 1914), p. 36.

and broken stones; also what miserable huts! They say an acre is sold for £3, but there are few inhabitants; some buckwheat, corn, cider. At Chatham the valley is more level, the ground better and many pastures. The ground is easily sold for £10, or $25 per acre. The meadows yield 1 to 1½ tons per acre of hay, which sells at Newark for £5 a ton. Two oxen haul 1 ton. Here they raise the summer grains profitably, but wheat dies in the winter from dampness and frost.

Generally the farms are from 200 to 250 acres; the farmers try mostly the raising of cattle; they sell their bulls, 4 years old, at from 50 to 60 dollars each; their cows, 4 years old, from 20 to 30 dollars each, for the Philadelphia and New York markets. The wood has almost all been cut down in this district; you have to pay 2 dollars a cord for walnut for burning; butter 1 shilling. A pair of good oxen for plowing bring £20 to £30, 50 to 75 dollars; a horse for farm work £25. There (as everywhere in Jersey) all the servants are black slaves; a good dependable negro, 18 to 25 years old, costs £100, or $250; a good, dependable negro woman, 18 to 25 years old, £70. You have to pay 5 shillings for a day's work by a white workman at harvest time; 3 or 4 shillings in the Spring; wages of a white farmhand, £30 to £40 per year, and you must also treat him politely.

There was a general review of the militia of Essex County 5 miles from Newark; 8000 men under arms, well commanded, many in uniform, although several had gone with the expedition against the insurrection in Pennsylvania,[5] mostly loyal Federalists.

[5] Reference to the Whiskey Insurrection in western Penna. in 1794.

Page 3 of Manuscript

At Hanover 7 miles—stopped at Tapin's—pretty bad lodging. On approaching this village or district, the ground is better for cultivation, and less suited for pasturage; the hills higher, the plains broader, the declivities gentler. The good land sells for £7 to £8 an acre; the medium for £4 to £5. The farms contain from 120 to 150 acres. They cultivate wheat, getting from 15 to 16 bushels per acre; corn 50 to 60 bushels; buckwheat 30 to 40 bushels; rye 20 to 24 bushels; cider. New York is a good market. More and more the farmers are anxious to raise cattle. Two oxen, £20 to £30. One milch cow £7. Plowing with oxen. Must feed the cattle from December to April. Sow wheat in August—harvest from 3 to 10 July; sow corn in June—harvest October 25; sow buckwheat in July, harvest October 5.

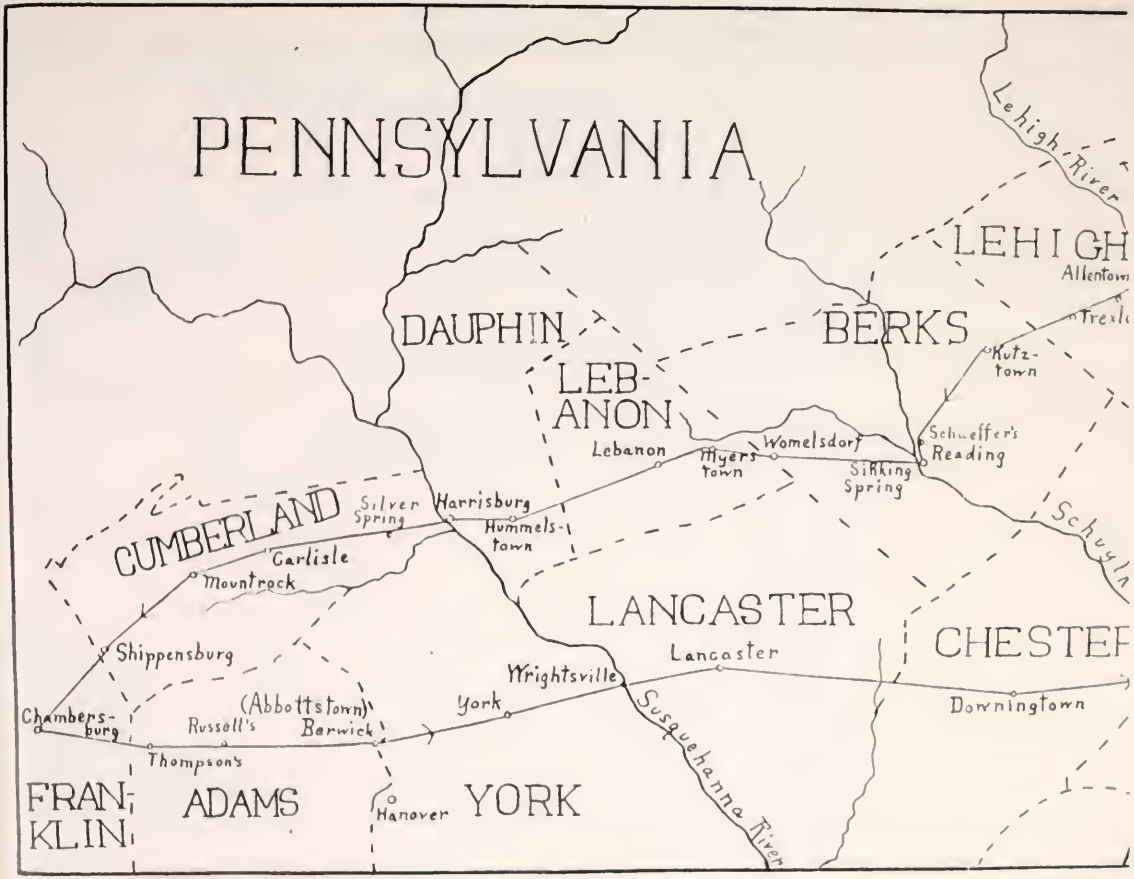
Mr. Patin [Tapin], the innkeeper, paid £450 for his 20 acre place; it is an inn formerly kept by Gray, and well-frequented. N. B. An English Bible on the table under the mirror.

One half mile from Hanover is Mr. Charles Marre's paper-mill;[6] he arrived with his wife and three children in 1791 from England where he worked in a paper-mill; he came to establish a paper-mill here; he is an excellent workman and makes the best paper that I have thus far seen come from a paper factory in the U. S. He sells the double sheet, very white and very firm, for 25 shillings a ream, composed

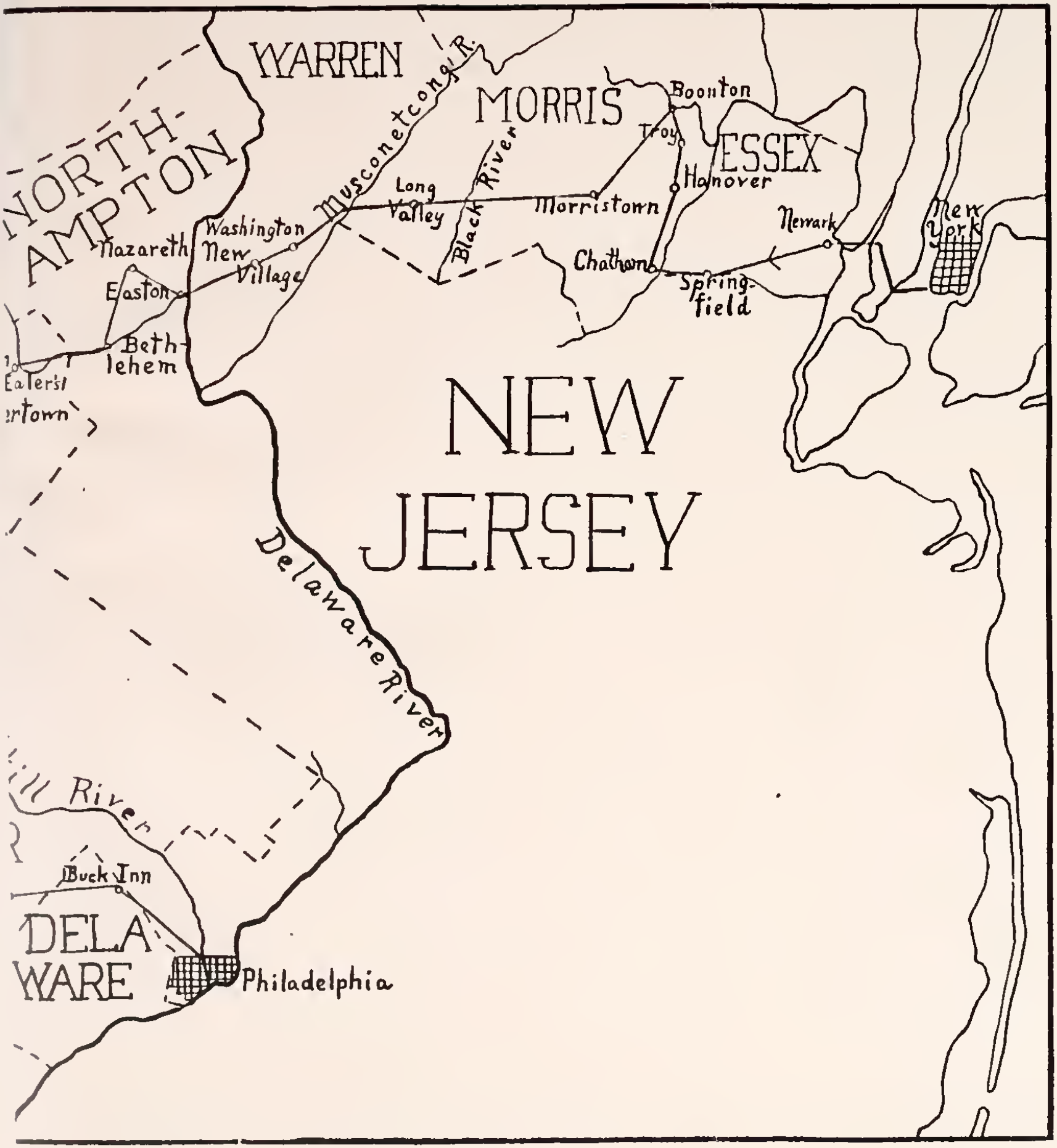
[6] Melville Paper Mill, operated by Charles Marr. Advertisements of this mill appear in the newspapers of the period,—e.g. *Woods's Newark Gazette*, May 6, 1794, p. 3. Copy in Library of New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.

New Jersey — 8 P au dollar

Le 21 Octobre 1794. parti d. Newyork à 1 h.
en chariot 4 à 2 chevaux, mon cheval de selle, le
cocher à Notre Hoboken
ami: en Jersey
à Newark à 8 Mil. à 4 h. logé chez Gifford
22. appris d. Dicatur d. arrivai d. de C. manufacture
établi à Paterson, établie à 14 Mil. de Newark
M. apprit, qu'il s'y établissoit une grande imprimerie
pentale à Pompton, situé à 8 Mil. au dessus
d. Paterson, on la dirige chez M. Peter Damis.
M. on me dit pour que je connoissois
le fondé de cette entreprise; on longue d.
l'Académie on latin, anglois, français, mathématique
90 écoliers. £6. par an
une bonne bibliothèque. £75. plan de la ville, église et bon
une fontaine. on en puise d. fontaines répandues
bon joli cimetière
la ville plaisante. Nombreuse société d. nombreux habitants
on vend £10. à 130 p. Dol. par an
entretien 20 par paire selon l'âge à 1 Do.
un mouton pour bœuf. Cotton et Cotton blanc
8 Mil. d'excellent bon marché à 10 B 1/4 Dollar
M. d. Cayron y a tenu un pension d. demoiselles
ou 20 Enfans tenoit la pension que je pensionnois. Chez
lesquels je passois
la journée
la dernière
des ouvrages d. cette
Maison
pour B les journées
Le circulation épaisse, Blondissage pour de
cuite £52. sai B130. par an, sans
matin comic
chapitre
musique
géographie
& cela à table
pension à bon marché
allemande. Cercle
à l'académie sous
l'inspection du Magistrat
de Newark
on m'a forcé de mettre la main à l'ouvrage quelque
temps — retenu mes pensions dans mon pays
sans retour



ROUTE OF CAZENOVE'S JOURNEY, 1794


WARREN
MORRIS
ESSEX
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Troy
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Long
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Morristown
Newark
New
York
Washington
New
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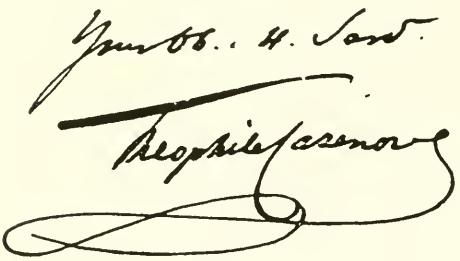
Easton
Bethlehem
Chathom
Spring-
field
NEW
JERSEY
Delaware River
Buck Inn
DELA
WARE
Philadelphia



ABOVE PORTRAIT FROM ORIGINAL BY ST. MEMIN IN CORCORAN GALLERY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

of 20 quires of 24 sheets each, 18 quires extra good, but the top and bottom ones [in the package] poor. One could make contracts with him with confidence. He has difficulty in finding rags and has to go 20 to 30 miles around to get them. There is only [sentence not completed].

Mr. Ferris [?] in Hanover sells excellent goose quills for two cents a dozen, or 16 cents, 1⅓ shillings, for 100, ready for sharpening.

Messrs. Forman, Durand,[7] and ————, three residents . . . of Philadelphia have bought, in this district, farms which they lease for one half of the produce and furnish half of the expenses: horses, cattle, implements, etc. They paid £8 per acre and also bought some inferior wooded lands, next to their farms, at £4.

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27 miles—good road.

24 Oct., Friday, left Tapin's, Hanover, at 9 o'clock in the morning.

At Troy, 3 [miles], had luncheon and dinner at Mr. Beeverhoud's.[8] He is a Dutchman who made his fortune in Ste. Croix and who settled in 1772 on this farm or plantation. There are 1650 acres, a good half of it in woods; he paid 12 thousand pounds sterling in 1768 for this land. He complains of the difficulty of finding workmen and although a large

[7] In the land records in the court house at Morristown, N. J., there is a deed of Apr. 22, 1794, transferring a parcel of land to Lewis Forman and John P. Durand.—*Deeds*, vol. B, p. 311.

[8] Probably the Lucas Van Beverhoudt mentioned frequently in the early land records of Morris County. See also references to large, manorial estates, among them "the Beaverwick, near Troy, owned by Lucas Van Beaverhoudt", —in *History of Morris County, N. J.* (N. Y., 1882), p. 218.

part of the land which is not woods (forest), is grass land, he must go shares in hay-making with those who cut the hay. He has a kind of small stud. He would like very much to sell his property, but there is no buyer. This district is not pleasant, the ground full of stones, and winter wheat does not grow well. All the buildings are in as bad a condition as the health of the kind Mr. and Mrs. Beeverhoud who received me cordially and gave me a pretty good dinner; Miss van Beeverhoud had made the apple pie. Mrs. van Beeverhoud, born in Ste. Croix, was always cold and did not leave the fireplace from September until June; she had 9 cats whose company enlivened the dinner, for Mr. van Beeverhoud had them put outside by 2 or 3 little negroes who went on all fours to chase the cats and made them yowl by catching them, but no sooner was a cat put out than another one came in; they finally stayed in and mewed for their customary meal.

At Boun Town [Boonton][9] 2½ [miles] at the iron-works of Mr. J. S. Faesch.[10] He came from Basle in 1770. He keeps these iron-works with Mr. Ogden[10] from Newark; the pig iron is made 10 miles further up, at Mount Hope, where the mines are. The miners are paid so that a hard-working miner can earn 10 s., 1¼ dollars, a day. The forge for making iron bars is double; a fire and 2 hammers. Bellows of new construction, kinds of iron boilers whose lids are pushed by pistons up to

[9] This place is now known as Old Boonton, and is about two miles southwest of the present Boonton.

[10] Probably John Jacob Faesch and Samuel Ogden. *History of Morris County, New Jersey* (N. Y., 1882), pp. 280–281; also I. S. Lyon, *Historical Discourse on Boonton* (Newark, 1873), pp. 14–15.

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32½ miles

up to the further end, and from there the air passes through tin pipes into an iron pipe which conducts the air into the fire. In another workshop the bars are made red hot and pass through a roller that flattens them and from there they pass through another roller where the plates are cut into rods suitable to make nails. They sell these iron rods for £42, or 105 dollars, for a barrel of 2000 pounds. Mr. Faesh lives there in a very rustic and stony place, in order to take advantage of a stream at the bottom of the valley. A half mile away [is] a church where they preach in Dutch every two weeks.

At Morris' Town, 8 miles, stopped at O'Hara's;[11] good lodging; the land of the neighborhood: high hills, stones, medium [soil]. The master of the house had gone with the militia against the rebels in Pennsylvania[12] although the absence of the master from an inn is very prejudicial to his interests. He had bought the house last July with 6 acres for £800. The house is of wood and fairly good; agreeably situated, next to the church and the court-house and in the center of the village or town. A cord of wood is obtainable here for 10 shillings for oak, 14 to 15 for walnut; salt 10 to 12 s. a bushel; butter 1⅓ s. a pound; butcher's meat 4½ cents [a pound]; for boarding i.e. lodging, food, and a single room, 2 dollars per week, and 2½ dollars per week with heat

[11] George O'Hara kept a famous inn at the head of South Street, Morristown, during the Revolution. A picture of it is in P. H. Hoffman, *History of the Arnold Tavern* (Morristown, 1903), p. 23. See also land records in court house, Morristown, *Deeds*, vol. A, p. 283.

[12] Reference to the Whiskey Insurrection in western Penna. in 1794.

and light in the room; a workman easy to find for 4 s. a day.

Many free negroes who hire out by the month in the summer [for] £3; and 3 s. a day. The free negro women are hired for 4 s. per week. Few houses to be found for rent, almost every house inhabited by the owner.

Chicken 1 s. each; duck 1½ s.; turkey 4 to 6 s. Flour now (October 1, 1794) sells for 4 dollars per 100 pounds, or 7 dollars for a barrel of 180 pounds. In April and May the same for 2½ dollars, [or] 20 s., per 100 pounds.

The free negroes are quarrelsome, intemperate, lazy, and dishonest; their children are still worse, without restraint or education. You do not see one out of a hundred that makes good use of his freedom, or that can make a comfortable living, own a cow, a horse; they remain in their cabins where they live miserably, barely raise some corn, but do not rise to anything,—are worse off than when they were slaves, although the race is open to them the same as to white people.

Bricks to be had at the brick factory, a mile from here, at 32 s. a thousand.

Boards, one inch thick, 10 s. the 100 feet.
do ¾ inch thick 8 s. the 100 feet.
do 2 inch thick 12 s. the 100 feet.

Lime from the kiln, delivered here, 2 s. per bushel.
A mason, per day, 8 s.
A carpenter, per day, 6 to 7 s.

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40½ miles.

Morristown, continued.

A large hall in the village, as in all large villages, for dancing in winter.

In this district a farm can be bought for £5 an acre, cash. Contains 150 acres: 40 acres with enough wood for the use of the farm; 20 [acres] meadow, or pasture, yielding 1 to 1½ tons [of hay, per acre]; orchard of apples and peaches; 80 tillable [acres] for corn, yielding 20 to 25 [bushels per acre]; little wheat; fair farmer's house; a barn, milk-house, and cider press.

There was last year, 1793, a great mortality among horses (yellow water), so a good farm horse costs now £30 to £40; a cow £7; two oxen suitable for ploughing, £22 to £24.

In the village, the land, well located, with 100 feet street frontage, sells for £100 an acre [?].

There is a little, public subscription library.

([Side endorsement:] A stage [?] ("chariot") twice a week from Elizabeth T[own] to Morris T[own] [and] vice versa.)

A school for the study of Reading, Writing, English, at 2 dollars per term; Latin, Greek, 3 dollars; French, 4 dollars: 9 dollars for everything for three months; £36 or $90 per year.

25 persons . . .

A new Presbyterian church; an Anabaptist [church]; a Methodist [church] further away in the country; neither a Quaker nor a Catholic [church]; no printing establishment; many distilleries where spirits are extracted from cider. This spirituous liquor costs 7 s. a gallon.

The average farm from 150 to 200 acres.

A good prison; no criminals; 3 for debts.

The situation of the principal part of Morris Town is very pleasant, on the top of a hill and on an esplanade, well leveled; a large and beautiful church; court-house; good houses on the square.

A high pole with the Liberty Bonnet in the middle of the square. Almost all the little boys of the village have a tri-colored French ribbon on their hats, put up to it by some people.

The Hessian Fly has been in these districts a great deal.

The school is very roomy; about 80 scholars, whom I found studying and in good order in two large rooms, united for special exercises or also for little festivities.

Mr. Gilpin Russel, who is principal of the college, is well educated and fine looking. He had a little theater built, where the scholars play little comedies. The man who teaches French and geography . . . born in San Domingo [?], also well educated. Mr. Russel takes children into his boarding-school for $60 per year, or to board and lodge them in town, $1 per week.

The situation is very healthful, and there is a little stream at the foot of the hill.

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40½ [miles]

October 25, arrived at Black River, at Drake's; it is the center of the township, where town-meetings are held.

Black River. [Stopped] with Drake [at the] Sign

of Washington, at Black River T[own], 12 miles, where I put up, fair [accommodations]; it is not a village—farms scattered in the district. The ground from M[orris] T[own] to this place very broken; high hills and not very good [soil]; partly uncultivable because of the sand or the declivity; partly large level fields, pasture, or corn, buckwheat. The hollows between the hills make fairly good pasture; especially [are there] many large orchards of apple trees, the product of which is important for the farmer, who generally distills his cider.

They calculate that 8 bushels of apples make 1 barrel of cider; the barrel is of 32 gallons, and these 32 gallons of cider make 4 gallons of spirits, which they sell for 6 s. or ¾ dollar a gallon.

([Side endorsement:] Since Jersey farmers have started to distill their cider, it is impossible to get any of it unless you pay what the distillery pays them. Today they ask 50 to 60 s[hillings] per hogshead, which a few years ago you got for 20. A hogshead measures 104 [to 106?] gallons.)

An acre of land, planted with from 65 to 70 apple trees, 20 feet apart, produces in good years 250 bushels of apples. This great produce encourages every farmer to enlarge his orchard.

The land on these heights and meadows, cleared, and soil not very good, generally in farms of 200 acres, sells for £3 [an acre], and the best ones, without many stones, for £4 an acre; in these 200 acres one has about 100 cultivable acres; 4 and up to 10 in orchard; 30 in meadow, yielding 1 ton per acre; a farmer's house, and out-houses. Corn yields on the average 10 bushels [per acre]; barley 10 bushels; buckwheat 15 to 18 bushels.

They enrich the land with lime, which is abundant, and the [manure] of their cattle—and then [they get] a little wheat, which yields from 10 to 12 bushels per acre.

2 oxen for ploughing, £20; 1 horse ditto, 25 to £30; at present very dear.

A Presbyterian [?] church and 1 school.

When the spirits extracted from cider is old, it is not unhealthful, but it is so when new.

Much emigration (because of the poor land) to the Genessee country and a few to Kentucky.

However, the farmers become very rich in this district, but they use their surplus not to improve their places, but to buy more land. Mr. Wells, a farmer near here, has 400 acres contiguous to his residence, and more than 1000 acres ("1000 arpents")[13] in the neighborhood. Here you easily find farmers [who will farm] for half the produce of the land, and the farmer furnishes the cattle, etc. ("stock").

A workman at harvest time, 6 s[hillings] per day—at other times 4—now, in October, you find some for 3 s.

There is a great export of spirits of cider to New York, and from there to the south; and the excise, instead of stopping the distilleries, has attracted attention to the advantages of this manner of making the best of this poor ground [for grain?] and so good for apple trees—each farmer has been planting nurseries for two years; so they are much pleased with the bargain.

[13] A French "arpent" is equal to about one and a half English acres. It is quite probable however that Cazenove in this case and some others uses "arpent" and "acre" interchangeably (as he certainly does on MS. page 15, p. 24 below) to mean an English acre.

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52½ [miles]
Black River Town.

This township is . . . miles long by . . . miles wide.

There are some brickfields selling bricks, 1000 bricks for 30 s., to those who call for them.

Lime sells for 1 s. a bushel at the furnace. As there is neither town nor village, provisions have to be obtained from the farm.

Few negroes in this district.

This district has many iron mines. There are 75 iron-works within a 5-mile radius of this place.

As it is Saturday, the farmers of the neighborhood come, according to custom, and gather at the inn to talk and drink. There were about fifteen, although the weather was very bad and the night dark, which, with bad roads and heavy drinking, is the cause of numerous accidents. In this section all the men are remarkably tall.

The 26th–left Black River Town at 9 o'clock. At Van House Tavern, in Dutch [German] Valley,[14] 6 miles; very bad lodging; hilly road, bad and stony ground except in the little valleys between the very high hills. Here the valley is wider and well cultivated. Mr. Wyse[15] has a farm here, 300 acres, with a good stone house, which he offers to sell for £1400, ([Bottom endorsement:] but the ground has been overworked and cannot produce any more.) The valley is very pretty and is crossed by the South branch of the Raritan River; but it is not navigable.

[14] The name was changed from German Valley to Long Valley in 1918.

[15] Probably Philip Weise. See T. F. Chambers, *Early Germans of New Jersey* (1895), 148.

Miller's Tavern,[16] 8 miles, ([Side endorsement:] on the Musconekon [Musconetcong] Creek. Here they already count the dollar $^{7}/_{6}$ as in Pennsylvania.) Not good lodging. From Dutch [German] Valley you have to climb a very steep mountain and the road is bad; but you can stay here if there is need; it is an isolated house in the valley, on a 200-acre farm, which Miller bought for £600 in 1789, where it was all woods. Now he is offered £1000 for it. Mr.—— —— from Philadelphia has 500 uncultivated acres there and Mr. Rutherford 1000. It is not worth £2. There are many . . . ; a few wild ducks here.

All the pioneers who go from the East to Pittsburg, Kentucky, etc., take this road and through Easton. N.B. One could have an agent here when the settlements begin in Pennsylvania.[17] Miller told me that every year hundreds of families pass, emigrating from New England to Kentucky and Ohio. From Black River here you see very few farms and almost everything is woods and uncultivated land, except the valley between the two ranges of mountains, which

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66½ [miles]

you cross; there the land is pretty good as far as Easton and sells for £3 to £4 an acre for a 200-acre farm, ⅔ of which is in the valley and ⅓ on the mountain.

Ten bushels wheat, 20 bushels corn, 15 bushels buckwheat, are counted on in this district for a

[16] Probably Andrew Miller who kept an inn in this vicinity during the Revolution, and lived until 1829.—Snell, *Hist. of Sussex and Warren Counties, N. J.* (1881), 733.—See also Book B, of Deeds, p. 353, at Newton, N. J.

[17] This refers to the settlements which the Holland Land Co. hoped to promote upon its lands in Penna.

harvest. They use little manure. The market in East Town, however, is near and very busy, since from there the produce goes to Philadelphia by the Delaware River.

At Wilson's Tavern,[18] 7 miles, bad saloon on the main road. N. B. The farmers buy as much land around here as they can, not so much, for cultivation as to . . . who send their cattle and horses to pasture in the uncultivated woods.

At Makentayer's Tavern,[19] 5 miles, where I stayed; bad inn. The road from Miller's here is fair, less hilly but very stony, and with much unfertile land on the heights. N. B. I took from Morristown the upper road which is the shorter, but not so good; and the innkeepers there are chiefly farmers, who run hotels as a side-line.

Met here two men from New Jersey coming back from the army—one was a wheelwright and the other a harness-maker. They could not endure the military hardships and all they told me strengthened my opinion that you need a standing army to keep good order in an extended and thickly populated district. These two militiamen complained of the great inconvenience of leaving their families and especially their trades, which lost customers while the boss was away. They also felt the great annoyance of passing suddenly from the comfort of domestic life to the deprivations, harshness, fatigues, and inclemency of weather in camp life, tramping in the rain,

[18] Probably Joseph Wilson's inn at the present Washington, N. J.—See Snell, *Hist. of Sussex and Warren Counties, N. J.* (1881), p. 719.

[19] Probably John McIntyre who owned land and kept a tavern at the present New Village, N. J.—Book L, of Deeds, pp. 6 and 9, at Newton, N. J. See also Snell, *Hist. of Sussex and Warren Counties, N. J.* (1881), p. 709.

etc.; and yet they praised the abundance of food and the fine weather they had in general.

The lack of neatness and of furniture in the farm-houses, the lack of gardens and improvements . . . delapidated state of the vineyards which are, however, large and productive, comes from the lack of taste and sensibility on the part of the farmers. The wives have the care of the house, and besides they have a number of children, 5, 6, 7, 8. So they have more work than they can do, with no help, except one or two old and dispirited colored women. That is why the wives are indifferent, tired. With the impossibility of having a neat or comfortable home, and the lack of seeing anything neat and comfortable, it is plain how, from father to son, is passed on this astounding indifference to

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78½ miles

the comforts of life. Fortunately, vanity plays its part and obliges the farmers' wives to be well dressed, often above their condition, on Sunday at church. Without the wise institution of a day of rest, and church service, may be the farmers' wives would never wash. This lack of home comfort obliges the farmer, who wants to enjoy himself to go to the neighboring saloons to talk about politics and to drink heavily; so having no opportunity to use their extra money in improvements, they buy more land around, and the pride of being considered a large land-owner is the only thing that rouses them; except for a few inland inhabitants, who have lived for a long time, from father to son, on their farms (but

those of that kind live in or very near the cities) most of them have, either themselves or their fathers, come to America from Germany, Scotland, and expecially Ireland, poor, from among the poorest country-people, and spent their first years in servitude (as is the custom for that class) from 2 to 6 years, and then become mechanics or farmers, and brought up their children as they were brought up.

October 27th—left the bad lodging of Makentayer. [Arrived] at Easton town, of Pennsylvania, on the Delaware, 8 miles. Stopped at Opp's[20] at the sign of the Golden Swan, very good lodging.

This little town is pretty; well laid out for the main square and the rows of streets, partly lined with good houses of blue stone, abundant in the neighborhood. Easton is situated at the junction of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, in a little valley at the foot of the mountain.

The inhabitants are all Germans: the church is large and the Lutheran and Presbyterian services are alternately preached, but both in German. The court-house is fine and very large:—there is a prison

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the construction of which accounts for the frequent escapes of the prisoners. A vaulted brick building to keep the county records: Mr. G. Craig[21] who is its prothonotary is a handsome man, and Mrs. Craig gives an opportunity to notice that city society people, who are isolated in a little country-town,

[20] Jacob Opp.—Easton tavern licenses, 1794–1795, in *Northampton County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[21] Initial "G" for the French "Guillaume". Wm. Craig was prothonotary at this period.—*Prothonotary Papers, 1783–1831*, in *Northampton County Papers* (MSS.), vol. XVI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

are the same in every country. She received me for tea elegantly dressed and she complained without ceasing of being deprived of the pleasures of Philadelphia.

Mr. Sitgreaves,[22] who lives here, has just been nominated for Congress for this district, Northampton, Bucks, and Cumberland counties. He is a clever and very eloquent lawyer; his Federalist principles kept him away from any post until now, but since each district must appoint a representative to Congress, and there was no other to do credit to the county, Mifflin's party backed him for this election.

There is here a printing-establishment of only one form, and which prints only a German newspaper that is published every Wednesday; the subscribers pay a dollar a year, and 600 copies are delivered in the city and neighborhood. The printer is at the same time printer, poet, and compositor.

In one of the stores there were many books well bound. They were all Bibles, Psalms and Chris Coppe's[23] sermons, printed in Germany, and which sell very well here and in the vicinity, where the people are very religious.

The facilities for shipping provisions from here to Philadelphia, by the Delaware river, bring here the produce of the neighborhood, especially in winter, when there is snow; and some merchants (Mr. Piersol) pay the farmers for the grain they bring, according to the price in Philadelphia, only 6 pence

[22] Samuel Sitgreaves, a Representative in Congress 1795–1798. *Biographical Congressional Directory* (1913), p. 1000.

[23] Probably J. B. Koppe, whose sermons were published at Göttingen in 1783. —*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (1861), 28: 79.

("deniers") less for a bushel. At the present time they pay 11 s. for a bushel of wheat and 60 s., or 8 dollars, for a barrel of 180 lbs. of flour.

The freight from Easton to Philadelphia is 6 pence per bushel, and ¼ dollar for a barrel of flour, and the boats make the trip in from 24 to 30 hours. To go up the river takes 3 days and the 100 lb. weight costs ½ a dollar, which is as expensive as the price of the stage from Philadelphia to Easton.

There are several locations advantageous for mills; in a radius of 2 miles there are 7 flour mills, each one working with 3 pairs of millstones.

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78–½ [miles]

Easton, Mordacay Peirsol, merchant and real estate agent, knows the neighborhood. He is also a commission merchant in grain, asking ½%. One must send ½ in small notes of the 3 banks and ½ coin. In December, . . . January and February, the best buying time—when there is a great deal of snow—is able to supply at least 10,000 bushels and store it until spring,—April or March, to go down the river. The storage, shipping, and freight to Philadelphia amount to 9 pence per bushel. For the price of provisions, land, lots, etc., see one of the printed papers filled in at Easton.

The 28 of October, left Easton at 11 o'clock.

At Nazareth, 8 miles, stopped with John Grimser;[24] neat lodging, under Moravian direction. The land along the road is fairly cultivated, but there are few

[24] John Kremser.—Tavern licenses, 1794–1795, in *Northampton County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

farms because of the difficulty of finding water in this district. It is necessary to dig very deeply and search for a long time.

Morse's Geography, page ——, describes this place. The Nazareth settlement is entirely Moravian and is a part of this large congregation which Zinzendorf established all over the world. This one was begun in 1763 on a carefully chosen piece of land of 1800 acres. The men's and the women's houses, the Church, everything is plain and well built; part of the land is cultivated by 3 farmers who give ⅓ of the income to the Intendant of the Congregation. There are about 30 houses, among which are 2 large buildings where the women live and where the Church and College are. There is a rich spring of most excellent water, which, by means of underground pipes, furnishes all the houses with water. In the backyards there are well built gutters to let the water run into the meadows, which makes them a rich pasture. N. B. Good example to follow.

In the Boys' College, about 36 boarders, who learn reading, writing, ciphering, and German, English, and Latin. They learn

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Nazareth 83–½ miles

also French, but from a teacher who cannot speak it and has a German pronunciation. All of the 36 boarders sleep in two adjoining rooms; each one has his bed, but there is hardly enough room for the 36 beds and the ceiling is low. The terms are £25 under 12 years old, and £30 above. I did not think this school a very good one; however there

were 22 names on the waiting list, the building being too small to take more than 36. The Church is as large as that of Zeyst [Zeist, Netherlands]; a very good organ. About 500 men, women, and children are leaving [?] the Nazareth settlement.

Mr. Tillofson,[25] the General Intendant, is very obliging.

There is a little isolated building where the dead are kept for three days, and are often examined to prevent the burial of those who might not be dead (excellent measure that ought to be followed in every U. S. city where they have the custom of burying the dead within 24 hours.)

In the woman's house, there is an apartment upstairs with 40 beds for the ladies, and the ceiling is so low that it must be very unhealthful.

Everything is the property of the Unity or Congregation whose seat is in Herrnhut, Saxony, where the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Congregation and every Settlement are managed by a council of 12 heads, chosen by the delegates of the various establishments once every 7 years, but besides this choice, it is necessary for them to be confirmed by lot,—what they call "chosen by the Lord."

The innkeeper manages the inn for the settlement. He is kept and receives £30 per year, with a bonus of from £8 to £10 if business has been good.

The surplus made by the settlement, after all expenses are paid, is sent to Germany to the 12 heads who render a statement to the generals. There are in the United States eleven settlements, each one sending its accounts directly to the 12. There are

[25] Probably Nils Tillofsen.—Levering, *Hist. of Bethlehem*, 569, note.

3 bishops in the United States, 1 in Bethlehem, 1 in Lititz, and 1 in North Carolina.

Two miles from Nazareth, there is another settlement

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83½ [miles]
Nazareth

of Moravians called Christian Spring; it is a fine farm of 1500 acres in a beautiful valley, remarkably well cultivated by about 64 Moravians who do the farm work under the direction of Count Golgosski,[26] a Pole related to Zinzendorf. This settlement was begun in 1753. There is a mill, a brewery, and everything needed for a large and isolated farm. Those who till it are some poor German Moravians sent by the heads on condition of working for their keep, but now they want to be paid and they are given £16 wages a year besides their keep. This settlement is in the department of the one at Nazareth. At the evening-prayer, in Nazareth, they sing hymns beautifully and news from St. Thomas is read, relating to the great tornado there has been there, telling of the anxieties and damage done to the Moravian brothers of St. Thomas, and how much the Lord helped them in their distress.

Good land in the neighborhood sells for £15; fair, 10 to 8; poor, 3 to 2 £.

I paid Mr. Tilofson,[27] manager of the Moravian settlement at Nazareth, $15 for a hogshead of the good cider they make there; at Christmas he will send it to Mr. M. Piersol, at Easton, who will send

[26] Reference probably to George Golkowsky.—Levering, *Hist. of Bethlehem*, 214, note.

[27] See note 25.

it to me to Philadelphia, care of Harrisson and Sterret, [28] by water or land.

The directors of the Moravian settlement in the U. S. wrote to the 12 in Germany, advising them to sell in a lump the Christian Spring establishment, with land, buildings, etc. They expect an answer this year.

When you observe what peace and abundance there are in these Moravian settlements, you see how much better superstition and enthusiasm are than the dissoluteness and laziness always produced by irreligion. There is no choice for the masses, they must be bigoted or be the prey of their most vicious inclinations.

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83½ [miles]

Left Nazareth at 10 o'clock, October 29.

Bethlehem, 10 miles, stopped at the sign of the Golden Sun,[29] good lodging. . . . land which does not belong to the Moravian Community in this district. The farms are generally from 100 to 200 or 300 acres. Every year the farms diminish in size. 8 miles from here is the Irish settlement, where the Irish came in 1740, while the Moravians settled at Bethlehem; but the Irish became poor and their places have gradually been filled by Germans who are thriving there.

Farms from 100 to 200 acres. Price of farms an acre:

[28] Harrison and Sterret, merchants, 3 Walnut Street.—*Philadelphia Directory, 1794*, p. 65.

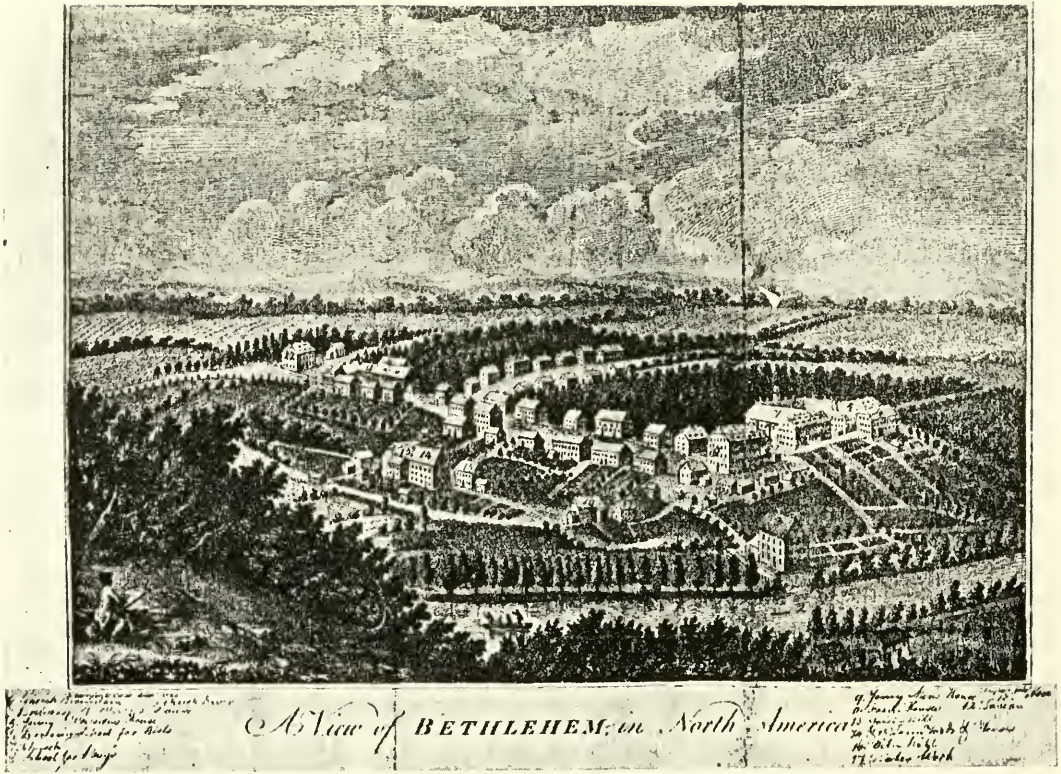
[29] The old Sun Inn is still in active operation, 1921.—See Reichel, *The Old Sun Inn* (1873).

£13 to 15 for the best, £6 to 8 for the fair. . . £3 for the poor; then, 100 to 150 [acres] cultivated; 50 in woods; house and barn fair.

The German farmers are beginning to sow a great deal of clover and turnips, and plant large apple-orchards. An acre produces 15 bushels of wheat, 20 bushels of corn. Workmen or laborers, scarce,—4 to 5 shillings a day.

From Easton to Nazareth and from Nazareth to Bethlehem, as far as you can judge from the road (often very high) generally the land is still uncultivated, at least not $^1/_5$ is culitvated, but the farms you see are large enough and have very large fields of wheat, corn and buckwheat; the hollows are good pasture; the soil is sand and clay; the woods, oak trees; the houses are stone, and several of logs and stone. All the inhabitants are German; in the country-churches, each Sunday, a Lutheran and a Presbyterian sermon, in German, are alternately preached.

The settlement of the Moravians in Bethlehem is situated in a very large valley where the Congregation owns a district of about 5000 acres. It was begun in 1742, and until 1762 the Moravians there were merged in a common family, whose every individual was working for the Community, and was kept by it; but since then this full surrender of fortune no longer occurs. Each one of the brothers and sisters keeps his property and is paid for his work. But the land, buildings, mills, etc.,—everything is the property of the Community, which rents the 5 farms, into which the 5000 acres are subdivided,



FROM OLD PRINT PURCHASED BY CAZENOVE AT BETHLEHEM AND INSERTED IN HIS JOURNAL

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Bethlehem

and supplies the mills, stores, the tan-yard, the bakery, the school, the brewery, etc., for the benefit of the Community, which gives so much a year to the brother directing each establishment. These brothers keep a strict account of the expenses and produce, and hand the profits over to the 4 elders who keep all accounts and send to the 12 in Herrnhut in monthly payments 4% as interest on the sums used for the purchase of land and the erecting of mills, etc., which have been successively provided by Germany. The rest of the income pays for the expenses of the heads, the pensions to the poor brothers and sisters, etc.

So there are in Bethlehem one large flour-mill, one large lumber mill, one large oil press, one large tobacco factory, one large factory to full cloth, a boarding-school, where there are 80 students from all parts of the States, 4 large farms, 1 large farm with an enclosure where 40 cows [are kept], a brewery, a seminary for men, one for widows and one for girls, a bakery, a tan-yard, a store where all kinds of merchandise from England and from Germany are sold at retail, a large inn for strangers; shoemakers, tailor, locksmith and carpenter.

All these establishments work for the Congregation, which allots their supervision to some brother and sister, to whom so much a year is given and who then pay their own expenses and board in the seminaries. There is one general Intendant, and the 4 elders among whom is the bishop have the superintendence. Now the number of Moravians, men, women, and

children, has come down to about 400. And the total number in all their settlements in Pennsylvania is not more than 1200. There were more before, but the Congregation purchased 100,000 acres of

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Bethlehem

land in North Carolina and established 8 settlements where there are 2000 Moravians, also one in Mount Hope[30] in Jersey, of few members. There are 3 Moravian bishops in the United States.

A rich spring, at the bottom of the valley, supplies every house with water; the water is sent up into a tank and pushed through a pipe to a height of 120 feet, by means of 3 pistons worked by a wheel put in motion by the water current.

Twelve sisters are constantly busy, in a house on the river, washing and ironing the clothes of the boarders and the sisters and brothers. I doubt if the education given by the Moravian teachers, who do not know life, is very useful to form character, but they teach needle-work, painting, music, reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, there are 80 school girls, daughters of good families of different States and the reputation of this school is such that there were 80 names on its waiting list. The boarders are divided among 6 rooms, not large, and overheated by large German stoves. They sleep in two rooms, with low ceilings; thus there are 40 beds in each room and not a fire-place, only a small air-hole in the middle of the ceiling—nothing could be more unhealthful. Every Friday evening and Sunday the boarders go to the Moravian Church. I shall never

[30] The correct name is Hope, rather than Mount Hope.

put in the Bethlehem School any girl for whom I am responsible. The tuition, board and other items go to £50 or 133 dollars a year per girl; the food is good, but not extra. Everybody in Bethlehem has dinner at twelve.

The Bishop told me the Congregation now counts 16000 members: Indians, savages, negroes, etc., (heathen) who have been baptised by the missionary brothers: among these are about 1200 Indians of North America.

When I asked the bishop if he would sell land or a house to someone who, without following their doctrine, would come to settle peaceably in Bethlehem, he told me they only admit those who promise to follow the rules and creed of the *fratrum unitas*.

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93–½ [miles]

October 30th left Bethlehem at — o'clock.

At *Allen's Town*, 6 miles,—stopped at Egher's, fair [lodging]. It is a pretty town of about 80 to 100 houses, 2 German churches, a Lutheran one which is called "the Church," and the other Presbyterian. It is a settlement begun in 1761 by Mr. Allen,[31] Attorney General in Philadelphia, and now his grand daughters' property, the 3 Misses Allen. The situation of the town is high and healthful; the streets are well laid out. The ladies sell the city lots 60 feet front by 200 depth for £25 besides being subjected to a perpetual quit-rent of 9 shillings. The land around the town is theirs and is divided into

[31] The founder of Allentown was William Allen, for some time Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

6 farms, which they rent to German farmers for a dollar an acre per year.

On approaching the town, near the River Lehigh and on a crest, the land is more cultivated and the farms nearer each other. On the other side of the Lehigh River there was a farm of 80 acres, ½ of it cleared, which was offered for sale at £700 or £9 an acre. A mile away from Allen Town, a beautiful farm situated on a crest, on the slope of a hill, could be bought for £3000. There were 240 acres, 140 of which were in tillage and pasture, and 100 acres in woods, besides 60 acres in woods 2 miles away; the house and barn were good and very well kept. It had produced that year 12 bushels of wheat per acre, which had been sold the day before to the Allen's Town dealer for 10 s./6 a bushel.

At *Ealer's Tavern*[32]—3 miles—lodging tolerable, in case of necessity; isolated on the high way. Ealer is a farmer and owns 264 acres in Allen Town and neighborhood.

Beef, mutton, and veal, 5 pence a pound; wheat, 10/6 a bushel; salt, 6/6 a bushel; butter, 1 shilling a pound, is bought here and sent to Philadelphia; walnut wood, 15 s. a cord; oak wood, 10 s. a cord. It is easy to get workmen at harvest time for 4 s. a day. In general, the size of the farms is from 200 to 300 acres. Price of a farm of 250 acres £10 to £15 an acre, with 120 [acres] cultivated, 30 pasture, 100 woods; house and barn made of stone of the neighborhood. Much clover is sown. You find land entirely uncultivated, [with] woods, bushes, to

[32] Peter Ealer, Whitehall Township.—Tavern licenses, 1794–1795, in *Northampton County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

be bought for £2 or £3 [per acre]. An acre yields 12 to 18 bushels of wheat—new land 25 bushels; 40 bushels corn, but only from pure seed [?]; 20 to 28 bushels buckwheat, according to the weather or rain [?].
Ground limestone.

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102–½ [miles]

Rotation: 1. Wheat.
2. Oats or corn or buckwheat.
3. Clover.
4. Clover and plowing to sow.

They fertilize with lime—about 40 bushels per acre—which is found in abundance in the country around,—and with farm manure.

Plaster of Paris is good to grow clover, but its price has gone up very much since the war; before it was ½ dollar a bushel and now is 1 dollar a bushel and they have to go and get it themselves in Philadelphia. For clover they manure in the proportion of 4 bushels per acre.

They are all German farmers in this district; they are diligent and thrifty and become rich; few vegetables besides cabbage, potatoes, and turnips.

They plow with 2 horses; they generally have 2 and 3 teams. You have to pay from £20 to 25 for a good plow-horse. They are beginning to use oxen which are bought for £18 [?] to £20 a pair.

Ealer has to pay, for 264 acres, size of his farm, this year: no State taxes, 30 s[hillings] county tax, 14 s. road tax, 7 s. poor tax: has to prove that he is

ill, or crippled or old; 10 to 20 s. free donation for the maintenance of the minister, and parish church.

At Trexler's Tavern[33] 5 miles; bad lodging; isolated on the road; ½ mile from there you pass near Big Spring. It is such a rich and steady spring that it gives enough water to set a mill going 200 feet away.

From Ealer's to Trexler's you pass through 3 miles of uncultivated land which may be had for £2 to 3 an acre, but cash; sandy and stony land on which only brushwood and a few oak trees and pines, very puny and stunted, will grow. At the end of this forest, or heath, you arrive in Berks County; there the land is broken by less high hills and gentler slopes; the ground is very good, almost all cultivated, and there are many farms: it is a succession of fields intermixed with little woods, retained by the farmers; very interesting to pass through because these German farmers take very good care of their farms: the houses are of stone or

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107–½ [miles]

"logs", beams, with the crevices filled with stones and mortar.

At Coots Town [Kutztown] in Berck's [Berks] County, 9 miles; stopped with Stauht,[34] a Frenchman from Lorraine—at the sign of Washington—good lodging.

All this country has been cultivated and inhabited

[33] Jeremiah Trexler, Macungie Township.—Tavern licenses, 1794–1795, in *Northampton County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[34] Probably John Stoudt (or Staudt).—Tavern licenses, Jan. 1, 1795, in *Berks County Records* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. See also *Heads of Families, First U. S. Census, 1790, Penna.*, p. 37.

for a long time. Mr. G. Coots [Kutz][35] had a farm here; he chose next to his place a piece of ground of 80 acres and in 1780 laid out for a town the land which was then in woods, and crossed by the highway. Now there is a large stone church for Lutheran and Presbyterian Germans who alternately preach there.

Mr. Coots [Kutz] sells his lots, 50 feet front, 160 feet depth, up to 100 or 200 Dollars [?], plus a quit-rent of 5–½ s[hillings]; it being thus a perpetual rent of 5–½ s. (shillings) per lot. In 1780 Coots [Kutz] gave the lots for this rent. In 1790 you could get them for £15 and they are now £40 for a street lot: one of the last ones has just been sold for £60 in . . .

There are already about 50 houses, among which are 5 taverns, this road being followed by all those who emigrate from the East, to go and live in Kentucky and in the new lands of Pennsylvania. [There is] not a farmer in this village, where, by asking from door to door, I found out there were: 1 turner, 1 carpenter, 1 joiner, 2 hatmakers making poor hats, 1 saddle maker, 1 baker, 1 shoemaker, 2 tailors, 1 lock-smith, 1 wheelwright, 1 minister, 1 school [for learning] to read and write German and English, 1 jeweller, who also fixes watches, 1 weaver, 1 tobacco factory, 2 stores, 1 butcher, 1 [place] where 5 women spin cotton and wool, 1 ginger-bread vendor, 1 carpenter for houses, 1 potter, 1 tan-yard, 5 taverns, 2 of which are very good; a main route from the east to ————.

The houses are of (logs) beams and mortar; the best ones have boards on the outside and are painted like bricks. These few houses, where live the day-

[35] The founder of Kutztown was Ge·rge Kutz.—Montgomery, *History of Berks County* (1886), 855.

laborers, constitute the whole town, which is in a pretty poor situation; its inhabitants live on the produce of the neighboring farms. These farmers take their wheat to the German Town mills, 7 miles from Philadelphia, where they were still paid 11 s. 9 d. a bushel, on the 28th of October. The dealers (in the stores) pay 10 s[hillings] to those who want to sell theirs here and so avoid the trouble of sending it by land (53 miles) to German Town.

This part of Berks County has the reputation of having the best lands

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116–½ [miles]

of the County and is [indeed] excellent ground (Township Maxadany) [Maxatawny]. The rest of the county is not so good. There are iron mines on the mountain and 3 iron-works.

Here the farms are generally from 150 to 200 acres. The price of land here for a farm with house, barn, etc., is from £13 to £14 an acre. Then the house and barn are good and it is divided: 30 acres in woods, 25 good meadows, 95 tilled land,—and in proportion if there are 200 or 250 acres. So a 150-acre farm near here, the house and barn of which would cost £900 to build, has been sold for £2200. The land is a little used up, but 2 years rest would give it great value.

Generally an acre of land [produces] 20 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels of barley, 25 to 30 bushels of buckwheat, 1–½ to 2 [?] tons of hay, both cuttings, 1–½ to 2 tons of clover, 2 cuttings, and then turn the cattle in; corn, a little.

Maxadany [Maxatawny] Township has remarkable springs: there are three which give enough water to set in motion big mills 100 to 200 feet away from the spring.

Plowing is done with horses, but the custom of plowing with oxen is gaining more and more.

They generally sow wheat. The Hessian fly is very detrimental to them. For fertilizer manure is used. Plaster of Paris is very good for clover the first 2 years, but they find out that it uses up the land.

A good 300 acre farm is offered for sale near here, fair house, very good barn, near the River, 60 acres meadow, 230 tillable, 10 woods,—excellent land, for £4000 cash.

Generally the farmers force the ground, because the fathers will it to their oldest sons, commanding them to pay a certain amount of money to the younger brothers or sisters,—and in order to pay off these debts, they force the products.

Here you have to	*In 1791*
pay for butter, 11 pence a pound;	6
meat, 5 " " "	2–½
Salt from Philadelphia [prices omitted]	
Walnut wood, 10 s[hillings] a cord;	7–½
Oak " 7–½ " " "	6

October, 1794, wheat 10 s. per bushel, barley 6–½ s., buckwheat 2 s./6 to 3 s. For flour you buy your wheat and bring it to the mill, where it is ground for one tenth [of it].

A stranger finds here a good unfurnished room with fire-place for 6 to 7 dollars a year, and board at Stauht's for 10 s. per week, £25 a year.

You get day-laborers for 2 s./6 plus their board, and you can hire a good farm hand for £20 a year [but these are] beginning to get scarce.

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The German farmers also manufacture coarse woolen material for coats, skirts, etc, and all their shirt-linens; they buy only their best clothes, for Sunday, and not many of these, as they are thrifty to the point of avarice; to keep seems [?] to be their great passion; they live on potatoes, and buckwheat cakes instead of bread. They deny themselves everything costly; but when there is snow, they haunt the taverns. They are remarkably obstinate and ignorant.

On every farm they cultivate enough flax and hemp and also raise what sheep they need for making their linen and cloth. They have a few gardens, at least for cabbage and carrots, and they all have bee-hives. You always feel like settling in the country when you see the excellent ground and the charm of the country, and also the advantage of farming, but you lose courage when you realize the total lack of education of the farmers, and that it is absolutely necessary to live to yourself, if you have any education, knowledge and feeling. There ought to be 5 or 6 families living close together in these districts; then they would be very happy, for freedom and abundance are obtained in a thousand places of the United States, if you are sensible and diligent; but for society—*nescio vos*.

All these farmers talk politics, and because they read the papers, they think they know a great deal

about the government; they think that government officers are too many and overpaid. One of these was complaining about the government excise and wanted a land-tax, but I pacified him with an argument made for those who never generalize ideas—a land-tax, I told him, is against liberty, because every one must pay it if he has land, while the excise can be avoided if you want to—in order to do so, do not distill or drink any intoxicating drinks.

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116–½ [miles]

October 31st left Coots [Kutz] Town; fine warm weather, Indian Summer.

At Nicholas Schaffer's Tavern,[36] 12 miles: Maiden Creek Township; fair lodging, isolated on the road, and nicely situated on the Schuylkill River.

He has 182 acres; 120 are cultivated,—clover, wheat, buckwheat; 62 wood-land; good house, barn; he is offered £4000 for it, but in this district the land is worth £12 to £15 an acre. For the farms which generally have 150 acres, and a farmer's house, barn, etc.,—90 to 100 acres tilled, 50 to 60 acres woods; the yield for an acre generally is: 15 bushels wheat, 25 bushels buckwheat, 15 bushels rye, barley, one to 1–½ tons of clover, when in good order; (fallow) it rests every 3 years, and every 3 years the ground is enriched with plaster of Paris, for if you

[36] This was probably the old Cross Keys Inn, still standing five miles north of Reading on the banks of the Schuylkill River. "Nicolas Scheffer, innkeeper," of Maiden Creek township (which extended west to the Schuylkill in 1794) mentioned in Berks County *Deed Book*, vol. XI, p. 66. See also tavern licenses of Jan. 1, 1795, in *Berks County Records* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

put it on more often than every 3 years it ruins the ground. At harvest-time you find workmen for 3 s. and at other times for 2/6 a day, with board, but you have to pay them with wheat, calculated as being worth a 1 dollar a bushel, 7/6, and so it is more expensive than 3 s. when the wheat is worth more than that.

October 1794, here the price of wheat is 10 s./9 a bushel, buckwheat 3 s. a bushel, barley 7 s. a bushel, hay £5 a ton, walnut wood 3 dollars a cord, oak wood 2–½ dollars a cord, butter 14 to 15 pence a pound.

They send to market in Reading, 5 miles from here, where now [sentence not completed in manuscript.]

The house and barn are made with beams, and the crevices are filled with stones and mortar. The rich and not too economical farmers board their houses on the outside, and have them neatly painted like bricks, which gives a pleasant appearance. Schaffer, a farmer with 182 acres, pays

£ —— United States,
no state tax,
£ 4.15 County Tax
–.10 Poor Tax
–.15 Road Tax

£ 6—— or $7–½[37]

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128–½ [miles]

October 31st arrived at Reading, 5 miles; pretty

[37] The $7½ is clearly written in the manuscript but no doubt represents a lapse on Cazenove's part, as £ 6 would amount to sixteen dollars.

good lodging with Mr. Woods,[38] formerly Withman, at the sign of Washington.

On one side, the surrounding country is wild and little cultivated, but the other side is prettier. The city is situated on a hill, quite high, yet surrounded by higher mountains. At the foot of the hill, the Schuylkill River winds. The city consists of several large streets. In the center of the 2 main ones is the Court-House. There may be about 450 or 500 houses (and 3000 inhabitants, 15 Germans for one of other nations)—among which houses about 50 are newly built, of bricks, and neatly decorated like the Philadelphia houses, with a strip of white marble.

On both sides of the Court-House are 2 markets, very clean, but their situation in the heart of the city, and in the middle of the main streets, is more convenient than beautiful. The streets are very wide, but are not yet paved, though they have sidewalks, and gutters for the flowing of water.

The ground intended for the city is one mile long by ¼ of a mile wide.

The streets are laid out[39] like Philadelphia's: the 2 streets in the centre, which cross, are lined on both sides with houses, but the side streets have only a few. The first house was built here in 1751, and for 43 years the city has made rapid progress. The only manufacture is that of hats, which are made chiefly of wool, and sell for 1 dollar; the export of them is 40 thousand a year. In one of the back

[38] Probably Michael Wood, who succeeded, about this time, to the hotel business of the Witman family.—Montgomery, *Hist. of Berks Co.* (1886), 659–660. See also *Berks County Records* (MSS.), Vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[39] At this point in his Journal Cazenove made a rough diagram of the principal streets of Reading.

streets a carpenter makes boats which he then takes to the river. There was a finished boat in the middle of the street, 60 feet long by 8 feet wide, costing £45. They are very flat and without keel; thus they carry to Philadelphia a load of 5 tons, when the Schuykill is low, and 12 when it is high; a new and beautiful R[oman] Catholic Church (a fine new German Lutheran Church and a German Presbyterian one.)

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133–½ m.
Reading.

There were in the county jail 4 prisoners, all born in Pennsylvania: a criminal for theft and forgery; a man and his wife for thefts; and an intriguer who had cheated the county farmers, making them believe that he knew how to make 2 dollars with only one dollar. He began by giving them back 8 shiny ones for 4 old ones they had given him, then 20 for 10. Finally, they brought him, one man 100, another 300 dollars, to be doubled, and he disappeared when he had a good-sized sum.

[The new Roman Catholic Church (see close of preceding page)] was built here in 1792. There are only about 50 Roman Catholic families here, but there are some in the country who come here from 50 miles around—but the priest lives 20 miles away and comes only once a month for the service. There is a German church—one of Quakers.

[There being] many merchants, having stores, the trade inland and the transit business is very important. The farm produce is shipped from here to Philadelphia, on these flat boats which carry from

5 to 12 tons, according to the seasons, when the river is high or low. The county-jail and the seat of the court [are here]. About foodstuffs, price of land, city-lots, etc., consult a printed blank[40] filled in for Reading by Mr. Read,[41] a highly regarded lawyer here, who showed me much politeness, as well as a Mr. Morris.[42] There are here about 20 rich families, [worth] from 10 or 15 thousand to £100,000. Mr. Heyster[43] is said to be worth £100 thousand.

A German newspaper is printed here every Wednesday, for 1 dollar a year. The Penns, proprietors, founded this city and kept for themselves a perpetual rent of 6 s. for each city lot. Twice a week, the stage-coach goes to Philadelphia, fare 2–½ dollars, and to Harrisburg, fare 2–½ dollars.

Mifflin's farm, now belonging to Nicholson,[44] 3 miles from Reading; pretty bad road, like all the others. Its situation is high, although the hills or mountains around are higher, and covered with woods, but from the house you see above the fields the city of Reading and the whole country. The stone-house is very good and well built. On the ground-floor, there is a large kitchen, with a rich and never-failing spring of excellent water; next a

[40] No trace of Cazenove's printed blanks has been found, in America or Holland.

[41] Undoubtedly Collinson Read, an eminent attorney of Reading at that time.—Montgomery, *Hist. of Berks Co.* (1886), 558. Mr. Read is also mentioned prominently by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the U. S.* (2 vols. London, 1799), I, 26, 29.

[42] Perhaps Benjamin Morris, brother of Cadwalader Morris.—Montgomery, *Hist. of Berks County* (1886), p. 549.

[43] The reference is probably to Joseph Hiester, later Governor of Penna.

[44] Governor Thomas Mifflin sold the farm to John Nicholson, of Phila. The latter was Controller, State of Penna., 1782–1794, and a great speculator in lands. Brief biographical sketch in H. Simpson, *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians* (1859), 743–744.—Also *Deed Book*, XIV, 342, Berks Co. Records, Reading, Pa.

dining-room with a small pantry, further on, the hall, which is a room with a fire-place, and a small room with a fire-place; a good stairway leads to the second floor where there are 7 bed-rooms, and many ward-robes and closets,—very large attic divided in 2, and a large and excellent cellar. The piazza is in bad order, no carpeting, but very clean—an ice-house—very large barn, and a stable for about 12 horses and 48 cows—a cider-press, an orchard of old trees, and a second one of young pear-trees. There is a saw-mill, and water for another mill, for flour, a little but bad house for a workman; a spring that can bring water all over the house and to the stables. The garden, not well taken care of, but might be nicely arranged.

The nature of this land is "Lime land," calcareous land. There are 900 acres adjacent, and 500 acres a mile away from the large farm.

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133–½ [miles]

The 900 acres consist of:

70 in natural meadows, well watered.
30 that may be made into natural meadows.
400 cleared woods, 280 of which are cultivated.
400 woods, the greater part of which can be made into artificial meadows.
900 [acres]

The 500 of the so-called "Island farm" consist of:

90 meadow and field, on an island formed by the Schuykill River.
410 in woods, good for timber, and the greater part of which can be made tillable and into pasture.

Mr. Nicholson has the large farm worked by a Quaker farmer[45] to whom he gives £90 and the food supplied by the farm: aside from that, the farmer stands to him merely in the relation of a clerk to his employer.

The years 1793 and 1794 have been rather bad on account of the weather, etc., but in 1791 and 1792, the farm, not much worked, produced:

700 bushels of wheat
200 " " barley
300 " " buckwheat
150 " " corn
150 tons of hay and clover

The farmer told me you could count on a production of

10 to 15 bushels of wheat per acre
20 to 25 " " corn " "
25 to 30 " " buckwheat per acre
10 to 15 " " barley " "
1 to 1½ tons hay and clover per acre

He had tried plaster of Paris; it was a success and gave a large cutting of clover.

On the 500 acres of Island farm, there is a bad farm-house; this land is rented to a farmer under condition of giving 6 bushels of the yield of each acre; the purchase of this land would be, I think, beneficial for those who could direct the work. In 1791, Governor Mifflin offered to sell me this large

[45] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt speaks of securing information on agriculture from a Mr. Evans, near Reading: "He superintends and manages the farm of Angelico for Mr. Nicholson in Philadelphia, who bought it three years ago from Governor Mifflin." La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States* (2 vols., London, 1799), I, 30.

farm, and the 500 acres of the Island, for £7000. He sold it since for £9000 to Mr. Nicholson, who now asks £12000 for it. There are several farms around, but no society. The land is level, and its proximity to the River and the city of Reading, where there is a stage-coach twice a

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133–½ [miles]

week for Philadelphia, 56 miles from Reading, where there is a market, doctor, and some social life, is a great advantage.

November 2nd left Reading at 9 o'clock; took two more horses and a postilion for 2 D[ollars] a day for as long as I shall keep them, and counting 1–½ days for the return either from Lancaster or Philadelphia.

In France everywhere I saw the farmers had 4 times as much furniture as the farmers in America generally have; above all there is no comparison between the keeping of the inside and outside of the farms, under the same conditions.

In France you see the farmers having first, several large wardrobes, filled with clothes and linen, more or less, silver spoons, knives and forks, large silver drinking-cups for each member of the family, father, mother, older children; much linen underwear and table-linen, good wines and brandy in the cellar; each farm has a well kept garden with plenty of vegetables, cabbage, lettuce, turnips.

In Pennsylvania, the rich German farmers and others [unfinished].

At Deep Spring[46] [stopped] at —— 5 miles. Fair

[46] The present Sinking Spring. An old tavern, probably the one referred to by Cazenove, is still standing on the property.

tavern, on the road. There you see a very rich spring, forming a small reservoir, whose water disappears under the ground and forms a large brook 200 feet away.

At —— 5 [miles]. On the road, a tavern where one could easily spend the night, it being clean; ¼ mile away, you see the Big, or Allen Spring.[47] It is a little spring always spouting up in several places and forming a little pond 18 feet deep, peculiarly full of excellent trout; the spring has enough water to set a mill in motion. The farm, on which it is, belongs to Squire Ekhard,[48] a justice of the peace, who bought it in 1788 for £2100, and spent £1000 on it. He has just sold it for £6000, payable in a certain time, with 6% interest until payment. There are 320 acres, 140 of which is a forest of good timber, and 180 is tilled and pasture. He does not think the purchaser can produce the £360 net, necessary to pay him the interest. Every morning and evening, a dense fog rises from the pond where the spring is and makes this place full of fever.

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143½ [miles]

The country is rather pretty along this road; the land is very much intersected with high hills and mountains, but their declivity allows culture, almost to the top, which is generally covered with forests very useful to the farmers. The valleys are rich meadows and the rest of the land is in grains and clover. The farmers' houses are well built, of stone;

[47] Big Spring, recently renamed Crystal Lake, lies about 1½ miles west of Wernersville and about ¼ mile north of the main Reading-Harrisburg pike.

[48] Probably John Eckert, Esquire.—*Berks County* Deed Book, No. 13, p. 219.

good, large barns, good teams of large and strong horses,... and if the farmers liked money less, they would surround themselves with more conveniences and live in plenty.

([Top and side endorsements:] They have all become rich, through the high price of grains since the French Revolution. They accumulate cash and keep it idle, by distrust—or they buy land, next to their own, which they do not cultivate and their savings remain idle. However, it is only fair to say that German farmers give farms to their sons as soon as they are of age, for their marriage, and even if they have 10 sons, they all become farmers,—while Irish farmers, if they make a fortune, bring up their children for the cities.)

In this district an acre of land is worth from £15 to £20, but then they are 200 or 300 acre farms, partly cultivated and with house and barn. The road, as everywhere, is very bad, clayey soil and rocks, very deep ruts; in short, break-neck, impassable if it rained at all.

Womelsdorf, at Stauch's,[49] 4 miles, pretty good lodging. It is a town where there are a German Lutheran church, about 50 houses, among which some of stone and 3 or 4 new ones of bricks, the rest are of logs and mortar. The neighborhood is remarkably well cultivated, therefore pleasant. The road from here to Meyer Town is very bad, clay or pebbles or rocks, until

[49] Conrad Stauch.—Montgomery, *History of Berks County* (1886), 875; see also tavern licenses, Jan. 1, 1795, in *Berks County Records* (MSS.), vol. VII, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. Mr. John A. Matthews, an aged resident of Womelsdorf, feels sure (1921) that Conrad Stauch kept the old Center House, now closed.

Meyer's Town [Myerstown] 7 miles, stopped with Khener,[50] bad lodging,—and when you have time, it is better to stay with Stauch, at Womelsdorf. It is a little group of about 30 houses and cottages, on both sides of the highway.

On the road, there is a German Lutheran church. The sermon ended just as I passed. It seemed to me I saw people coming out of church in Westphalia, so much have all these farmers kept their ancestors' costume, only most young farmers have given up the straw-hat for the cap [?] of black silk, which Methothodists wear—but for the men, the green coats, light blue ones, and large, pulled-down hats, boots extending above the knees, etc., as in Germany—expecially their bearing and appearance.

I also met a family from Jersey that was moving,—the old father and the mother with 8 children, in 2 covered carts, one drawn by 4, the other by 2 horses, all their clothes and some pieces of furniture. He had sold his farm in Essex County, in Jersey,

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154–½ [miles]

and was going to Red Stone, Pennsylvania, where he hoped to find, according to information, some good land to buy. There was some to be had, he said, from 5 s. up to 5 dollars an acre, according to quality and situation. He had heard that around Red Stone winters were less severe and trees easier to fell (smaller) than in the country beyond the Mohawk, in New York. He had with him 5 sons, from 22 to 12 years old, and 3 daughters, from 18 to 8. The

[50] Godfrey Keener (or Küner).—*Dauphin County Tavern Licenses*, 1786–1838 (unbound MSS.), State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. See list for years 1795–1799.

whole family walked briskly along by the wagons. At Meyer's Town found Mr. Roberdeau, Mr. Weston's[51] director and assistant in the building of the great canal.[52]

November 3rd, left Meyer's Town [Myerstown], and arrived at Lebanon, Dauphin County, 7 miles; stopped with Greenwald,[53] fair lodging. Followed the road from Meyer's Town to Lebanon, skirting the canal, finished for these 7 miles. The part of the canal (to open navigation between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill Rivers, from Harrisburg to Reading) already built, shows the skill of the civil engineer, Weston, from England. The 5 adjoining locks to have the boats go down and up a 30 foot fall; the arched bridges, plain and well proportioned, everything is done well. For the details of this great and useful undertaking, see the separate note.

The German farmers' stinginess and lack of conscience in money matters, were particularly shown when they had to give land for the canal-way, at the rate of 100 feet width for the strip of land. The jurymen estimated an acre from £120 to £300; 2 acres have even been estimated £1100, although the whole farm was bought 3 years ago for £1000.

[51] Isaac Roberdeau, later Chief of U. S. Bureau of Topographical Engineers. —*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biog.*, V, 271; see also R. Buchanan, *Roberdeau Family* (Wash., 1876), p. 109, containing also reference to William Weston, of Gainsborough-on-Trent, England, the engineer referred to above.

[52] This canal was being built by the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Co., but later came under the control of the Union Canal Co. After many delays traffic was opened between Middletown, on the Susquehanna, and Reading, on the Schuylkill, in 1827.—H. M. Jenkins, *Pennsylvania*, II, 270–271. See also pamphlet *The Union Canal Co. of Penna.* Phila. 1853,—copy in Hist. Soc. of Pa. library; also *Canal Navigation in Pa.* Phila. 1795,—copy in Ridgway Branch, Library Co. of Phila.

[53] Probably Philip Greenawalt.—*Dauphin County Tavern Licenses, 1786–1838* (Unbound MSS.), State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

However, this jury is chosen from 48 named by the prothonotary; each side rejects 12, and of the remaining 24, the twelve first comers are sworn and decide. The ignorance of these farmers is such that they were strongly opposed to the building of a canal in their district, that could convey their boats and produce as far as Philadelphia. Those from Boston offered their land free

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161–½ mi.
Lebanon.

in order to have the canal that is going to be extended in Massachusetts, pass there.

Lebanon is a little town, quite pleasant; the situation of the land is very high yet it forms a plain several miles wide, and thoroughly cultivated. [Top endorsement:] It is the summit-level of the great canal. From this plain the water goes on one side by the Tulpehocken Creek into the Schùylkill, and on the other by the Quittapahilla and Swatara Creeks into the Susquehanna.

In the summer, this place must be (for the location) as agreeable as it is healthful. A stage-coach 2 times a week for Philadelphia—4 dollars; no printing-plant. The farms are from 150 to 250 acres and are worth on the average, with house, barns and 150 acres tilled and meadows, £15 to 20 an acre, generally yielding: 15 to 20 bushels wheat per acre, 25 bushels corn, 30 to 40 bushels buckwheat, 1 ton hay.

The town of Lebanon was begun in 1758 by Mr. Stuyts,[54] who gave the lots for a 4 s. (shilling) quit-

[54] George Stites (also spelled Steitz, Steitze, Stits).

rent; his property was bought by 8 of the inhabitants, 5 of whom remain and collect the 4 s. (shillings) quit-rent per lot or house, and for the out-lots near the town, at the rate of 5 s. per acre, and one dollar per acre for meadows. There are in Lebanon 170 houses and two cross streets, inhabited by mechanics, —and 2 stores. Lots in the center are worth from 2 to 300 £, those further away £150, and are 66 feet front by 190 feet deep. All the inhabitants are Germans; there are 2 churches, a Lutheran one, and a German Presbyterian one; 400 feet from the town, an isolated church for the Moravians of the town and neighborhood.

In Lebanon, flour costs ——, butcher's meat 5 pence a pound, fresh pork 6 pence, butter 1 s[hilling]; walnut wood 2 dollars a cord, oak wood 10 s[hillings] a cord.

A workman earns 3 s. per day, and ½ dollar in summer.

For fertilizer, lime, which is plentiful here; plow with two horses.

[Rotation] New ground here:

1st year, wheat
2 " wheat again
3 " oats
4 " fallow, rest
5 " wheat
6 " fallow, etc.

Lands cultivated a longer time:

1st year, wheat
2 " barley
3 " corn, or oats

4 year, fallow, or buckwheat
5 " if buckwheat the 4th year, then fallow.

The cattle stay in the stables from December to April.

Board per week in private house, 2 dollars.

Now prices are: wheat 9 shillings a bushel, corn 5 s., barley 7–½ s., oats 2/6 (the army 3/6);[55] hay £4.10 per ton now, it being in the barn; £3.15 to 4, taken directly from the fields.

([Side endorsement:] The carting of a ton of hay from here to Philadelphia is from £5 to £6, if the road is bad; 2 s./6 for a bushel of grain.)

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161–½ miles

November 4th left Lebanon; at Homelstown [Hummelstown], 16 miles, stopped at Room's,[56] very neat [lodging].

It is a village on the highway. There are about 50 little houses, of logs and mortar, yet with little English windows; inhabited by workmen, who work for the farmers around; a large retail store and 4 tavern-keepers. However, the lots, or building ground, 60 feet front by 200 deep, are all bought by the inhabitants and are worth from 20 to 40 pounds or 50 to 100 dollars; a German Presbyterian church.

One should go and see the Grotto, the Swatara Cave, about a mile from Homelstown. It is curious enough; nothing indicates it on the outside; you arrive there by crossing plowed, but poor fields, on

[55] Army contingents called out on account of the Whiskey Insurrection and camped in the vicinity, paid higher than the ordinary price.

[56] Probably Michael Rahm.—*Dauphin County Tavern Licenses, 1786–1838* (unbound MSS.), State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

the bank of the River; a few heaps of rocks make the descent to the shore easy, and the entrance of the cave is facing the river. This cave is pretty deep and you go around it through tunnels whose vault is made of rocks, limestone, and covered with stalactites of different shapes and sizes, which make the inside look like the ornamentations of Gothic architecture. It would be necessary to be a learned naturalist to describe this cave; there is a spring at the bottom and the cavity of the cave seems to me to be formed by the water of the spring which carried away everything that was not firm. It is the cave described by Morse, *Geography*, Boston edition, Volume I, page 496. I cut off some stalactite stones which I am keeping.

On my way I met near Millers Town[57] a funeral procession, more than 150 farmers and farmers' wives on horse-back, some in carriages, were preceding and following a man on horse-back who was carrying before him a small coffin in which was the dead child. This large company, after the burial, was to go and spend the rest of the day at the mortuary house and be refreshed and feasted. The whole neighborhood took part in the ceremony and the cavalcade was as numerous as curious, because of all those German faces, male and female, trooping along by the corpse.

From Lebanon to Homelston [Hummelstown] the road is fair and the land everywhere is good and thoroughly cultivated; much wheat, few meadows. The farms all . . . [?] are owned by Germans, who

[57] The present Annville, about six miles west of Lebanon, long known as Millerstown from its founder, Abraham Miller.—Egle, *Hist. of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties*, Part II, p. 227.

do not sell again, but when they are sold, they are worth from £15 to £20 an acre.

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161–½ m.

November 5th, left Homels Town [Hummelstown] and arrived through a more broken and wild country, but however well cultivated, at

Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna, 9 miles; stopped with Crapp,[58] good lodging.

This city is one of America's little phenomena, in the matter of the rapidity of its rise. In 1785 there was on this location only the single house and farm of Mr. Harris. The favorable situation of the place gave him the idea of founding a city there; he laid out the streets on a wise plan, like the city of Philadelphia, but keeping a large square in the center, on a triangular plot of —— acres, whose greater side is on the edge of the beautiful Susquehanna River.[59] He divided the city into lots 52–½ feet front by 210 feet deep. The side facing the river is a magnificent street, on account of the height of the bank and the beauty of the river there, a mile wide, and adorned with 3 small islands, planted with trees. There are about a thousand lots, and already 300 houses neatly built in brick or "logs and mortar," 2 stories high, English windows; the streets are wide, not yet paved. With the exception of 3 or 4 independent people, and lawyers, all the inhabitants are either mechanics, or they manufacture hats and tobacco; 32 taverns

[58] Probably Wm. Crabb.—*Dauphin County Tavern Licenses, 1786–1838* (unbound MSS.), State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.—See also *Heads of Families, First U. S. Census, 1790, Penna.*, p. 86.

[59] At this point Cazenove made a rough diagram of the principal streets of Harrisburg.

and eighteen merchants keeping in their stores European merchandise, and buying farmers' produce.

Mr. Harris sold lots in the nice streets from £60 to £80 and in the less conspicuous parts for £20 to £30. All the city lots are now the property of the 2nd or 3rd buyer, and one can no longer buy unimproved lots under £200 to £300, in good location, and from 40 to 60 in remote streets. There are few cities which in proportion have such a large number of merchants keeping retail stores. Commerce is very important in this city,

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since it is from here that the Susquehanna River is readily navigable towards its source, and crosses, in its 2 branches, an important piece of country. The lands watered by the Susquehanna are so excellent, that settlements are made hourly, and the farmers are generally supplied from here; also from here comes a large part of the products, that go down the river in boats. Last year about 200,000 bushels of wheat were counted, chiefly used by 2 or 3 very rich millers, who have their mills in this vicinity and by a Mr. George Fry who has a splendid mill in Middle Town, 9 miles below, on the Susquehanna River.

There is here a printing-plant, where an English newspaper is printed; it is published every Monday and costs 2 dollars a year for subscription; a school, where I saw about 60 children learning from only one teacher, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, etc.; each scholar paid him 10 s. (shillings) per term. A German church, where Lutherans and German

Presbyterians have alternate services; they are going to build an English church.

This is the capital of Dauphin County, so it is the seat of the court of law; they are building a large Court House of bricks which will be very large and well built.

The county-jail had one prisoner, a thief, condemned to 2 years imprisonment, and 3 noisy negroes. The county allows the jailer, for the keeping of prisoners, 4 (four) pence a day, for which sum he must give them fire, one pound of bread, and water. I had letters of introduction for General Annha,[60] who married one of Mr. Harris's daughters, and he received me very obligingly. He knows a great deal about Harrisburg.

A hollow, or swamp, which is near the city, where the exhalations from the bed of the river, when the water is low, or some other cause, brings every fall intermittent fevers which inconvenience the inhabitants very much. Without this occurrence, there would already be many more houses. There are 3 brick-factories near the city, where very good bricks are made at —— dollars a thousand.

[An asterisk in the manuscript refers to the new Court House, mentioned two paragraphs above.] They are making the building so large with the idea that the Pennsylvania legislature will hold its meetings here. Mr. Harris, in order to obtain from the government incorporation for his city, gave the state of Pennsylvania four acres, still in meadows, in a high and favorable location in the city. He also

[60] John A. Hanna; he served in the Revolution, and was a Brigadier-General of militia at the time of the Whiskey Insurrection. Brief biographical sketch in Egle, *Hist. of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties* (Phila., 1883), 501.

gave the ferry, which yields £200 a year; also he agreed to sell 200 lots

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170–½ miles
Harrisburg

at the prices fixed by the commissioners, named by the legislature, who fixed them since at from £10 to £60, according to location. But he sold the rest of the land from £26 to £80 a lot. Since the past summer, boats of a new pattern have been built to go down the Susquehanna. They are a kind of ferry-boat, with high sides, triangular in the front and back,[61] with which they take from 200 to 300 barrels of flour over the Conewago Falls, provided the water is not too low.

Generally, the wheat coming from up the river, goes down to Middle Town, where Mr. G. Fry's big mills are, and also several other millers who buy what arrives; there too, the millers of Lancaster and from all over Pennsylvania, have agents, who always have money to pay cash. The farmers then come to Harrisburg where they find larger, well stocked stores, and they buy what they need.

Carting from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, about 100 miles, usually costs from 5 to 6 s. (shillings) the hundred pounds. Because of the passage of the Army, the carters were so busy that they ask to-day 8 s. for a hundred pounds, but that is only accidental. The Harrisburg citizens are very strongly opposed to the building of the great canal, because it must end at Middle Town, a city already a great rival of this one.

[61] At this point Cazenove drew a rough sketch of the boat he was describing.

About the price of provisions, lots, land, etc., see one of the printed papers filled in for Harrisburg.

November 6, left Harrisburg, and crossed the river by the pontoon, pretty good and cheap, 6 s. for 5 horses, the carriage, and 4 persons. After having climbed the mountain opposite Harrisburg, the land is generally very level, of good quality, and extensively tilled; on every side, widely extended wheat and corn-fields. German farmers of Dauphin and Berks counties every day acquire farms from the Irish farmers, who settled here first; 7 miles from Harrisburg, at Silver Spring

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I stopped with Mr. Pollok,[62] who has an estate of 1300 acres, mill, etc., which he bought in 1786 for £5000 and for which he is offered £15000. The house is not much but the water beautiful and the soil good; 14 miles from Harrisburg is the fine farm of General Erwin,[63] for whom I had letters. He has just had an excellent house built there; 15–½ miles from Harrisburg are the barracks of United States troops, 5 big and well made buildings. There are

[62] Perhaps James Pollock. See *Heads of Families, Penna., U. S. Census, 1790*, p.81; a James Pollock was appointed Coroner of Cumberland Co. in 1775,—*Penn-Physick Co. MSS.*, XV, 85; see also *Misc. MSS., Northern, Interior and Western Counties*, p. 85; above MSS. in Library of Hist. Soc. of Penna., Phila. In the county records at Carlisle there are also references to Oliver Pollock and John Pollock. The latter kept an inn at Carlisle for many years. The probate records show that James Pollock died in Carlisle. The census of 1790 (see above), pp. 83, 84, shows two John Pollocks. One of these may have been at Silver Spring. No trace of a Pollock at Silver Spring is to be found in the records of the Land Office at Harrisburg.

[63] General William Irvine. His letters and papers are preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Penna., Phila.—See vol. XII, p. 62, for Gov. Thos. Mifflin's letter to Irvine, introducing Cazenove. See also *Introduction*, p. vi above.

150 militiamen stationed here, to keep the rioters in order.

At *Carlisle*, county seat of Cumberland County, 17 miles from Harrisburg; stopped with Forest,[64]—good lodging. This town was begun by the Penns, proprietors, in 1759. The streets are wide and well laid out, not paved nor lighted yet; the location of this town is on a widely extended and very high plain, since it is the highest part of all the long valley between the double row of mountains, extending from Jersey to Virginia, so that only in the North and South do the high Blue mountains, surrounding this site, rise above it. There are at present from 330 to 350 houses about a hundred of which are neatly built, and 2400 inhabitants here. The inhabitants are generally Irish, and a few Germans, who gradually are coming to live here; but the first inhabitants were all Irish.

Messrs. Penn divided the land in the city into lots, 60 feet front by 240 feet deep, subjected to a 7 s. (shillings) quit-rent per lot; they also disposed of the out-lots, from 5 to 8 or 10 acres, subjected to a 3 s. quit-rent an acre. They united two large commons for the use of the inhabitants, which makes things easier for the poor. Since the war, the quit-rents have not been collected, because of some difference among the Penn heirs, but the inhabitants are ready to make up these quit-rents, in order to have clear title deeds for the land which they have successively sold to one another.

[64] Thomas Foster. See John R. Miller, *Old Taverns* (pamphlet reprint of address of 1907 before Hamilton Library Assoc.), p. 21. See also Tavern Licenses, 1780–1837, in *Cumberland County Manuscripts*, vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

Just now a lot in the main street and on the square sells for £150, and £300 for the lots at the four corners of the square; the other lots in the city sell for £10 to 60 according to location, but the buyer always has to settle with Messrs. Penn for the deeds.

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Carlisle 187–½ [miles]

This defect in the deeds is the reason why the out-lots sell for only £10 an acre. ([Bottom endorsement:] They count here a few families living comfortably—lawyers and some who made a fortune in land-speculation; among the latter is Mr. Blaine,[65] estimated to be worth £60,000.) The court of law has its seat here for the County, whose jail is here. There were 5 robbers, all Irish, in a little room, with chains on their feet, for crime of theft, first offense, although they were sentenced to 7 years in prison. They will be able to escape, as they escape from all these county jails, whose windows look out into the street; they can easily saw the bars.

There is an English Presbyterian church, a little Anglican one, and a little German one. There is a college[66] here, whose building is very shabby, and small for the 70 students. The price for tuition is £5 per year. The students find good boarding-houses for £35 a year; 5 teachers and professors to teach English, Latin, Greek, mathematics, history, and philosophy. There is in the town another school, a preparatory one; the students are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. There is a printing-plant:

[65] Probably Ephraim Blaine.—*Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle* (1889), II, 319, 368.

[66] Dickinson College, founded in 1783.

an English newspaper, every Wednesday, for 2 dollars a year.

In this, Cumberland County, farms are larger, from 200 to 400 acres, half of it cleared, the other in woods, with house, barn, etc. ([Side endorsement:] The farmers keep too much woods, they are always afraid of not having enough, either for their fire, field-fences, or buildings.) These farms are generally bought for £10 an acre; farms unusually good in land, water, buildings, etc., sell for as much as £15 and even £20 an acre. There are some whose soil is very poor, called "Slitland"[67]; on which the woods are stunted [?], that can be bought for £5 an acre.

Generally, the farmers put no fertilizer on their land, except the small quantity of the farm-manure: they claim that lime-fertilizer impairs their land.

Generally a good farmer of this district harvests:

15 to 20 bushels of wheat on each acre, sown with one bushel.
20 to 30 bushels of corn on each acre,
30 to 50 " of oats " " "
1 to 1–½ ton of clover or hay.

They are beginning to sow much clover. They have not a consistent nor very well thought-out system for their crop rotation, and follow too much their humor; but those who are reputed good farmers in this district, use, when the land

[67] Elsewhere in the Journal spelled "Sklit" or "Sklite." On a loose insert in the original journal Cazenove has written "Black slate, Gray slate" and then has crossed out the word slate in both cases and written "sklite." It was probably a local Pennsylvania German word for slate or shale soils that Cazenove picked up and tried to spell phonetically.—See also pp. 67, 79 below, where it is used perhaps to designate soils that are merely stony, although there are real shale soils in Adams County and in northern Chester County.—See *U. S. Bureau of Soils, Field Operations, 12th Report* (1910) and *14th Report* (1912).

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Cumberland County—Carlisle

is in good condition:
1st year—plow 3 times and sow wheat
2nd " —oats or corn

3rd } year
4th } " —clover and rest.

Others use:

1st year—wheat
2nd " —barley
3rd " —corn
4th " —oats
5th " —rest
6th " —fallow and wheat.

To work one [farm] of 400 acres, 200 of which are cleared, 4 men are needed, and 10 or 12 are hired for the 2 or 3 weeks [?] of harvest; 3 men are kept very busy keeping in order a 150 acre farm, in cultivation and pasture.

Mr. Moore,[68] a farmer 4 miles from Carlisle, is reputed the richest farmer in the district; they estimate he is worth from £30,000 to £40,000. He is the son of Irish parents and very thrifty.

They always take, on new lands, a piece of ground which they sow the first year: ½ turnips; ½ sweet potatoes; 2nd [year] flax.

They plow with 2 horses; the use of oxen for farm work is little known here.

A day's work brings ½ dollar.

[68] Probably John Moore, of West Pennsboro Township.—Cumberland County *Record Book* (Carlisle, Pa.), Vol. I, K, p. 14.

In Carlisle they pay now for

butcher's meat	5 pence a pound
salt	1–¼ dollars a bushel
butter	1 s./3 or 15 pence a pound
walnut-wood	$1–½ to ¾ a cord
oak	$1–¼ to ½ " "
	the army 2½[69]

There are 2 brick-factories—1000 bricks for 25 s., $3–⅓; a bushel of lime 1 s.

The price of wheat is at present here 1 dollar, 7 s./6 bushel

The price of corn is at present here 5 s. bushel

The price of oats is at present here 2 s./6 bushel

The price of hay is at present here 7 dollars a ton

The price of buckwheat is at present here ½ dollar a bushel

Baltimore is the market-place where flour made in this county is sent; sometimes to Philadelphia. The carting of a barrel of flour from here to Baltimore brings 1 dollar, and to Philadelphia 10 s. a barrel. To transport merchandise from Philadelphia here costs from 1 to 1–¼ dollars a quintal.

I saw here two elks, male and female, such as are numerous in the woods up the Susquehanna. The male is a splendid animal, a kind of a deer, but stronger and taller, and the structure and arrangement of his horns are much more dangerous.[70]

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Carlisle is in the center of the extent of the valley which is between the two high ranges of Blue Moun-

[69] Army contingents, called out on account of the Whiskey Insurrection and camped in the vicinity, paid more than the ordinary price.

[70] After this sentence Cazenove drew a rough sketch of the horns of the elk.

tains, called here North and South Mountains. The valley is 12 miles wide and the high mountains, 6 miles away, on either side, are so high that you cannot pass through. However, last summer and this summer, land-surveyors surveyed all the land on these mountains, apparently to deceive those to whom they will sell land in Cumberland County. And since they surveyed these high, inaccessible lands, they will probably have surveyed also Mifflin and Bedford Counties, which are known to be very mountainous. N.B. Mr. M. Hendresson,[71] a deputy surveyor of this district, told me he had surveyed the lands of the 2 mountain ranges, North and South, of Cumberland County, for Mr. Nicholson[72] and for a Mr. Stolker, from Maryland, who have established iron-works on these mountains.

November 7th, left Carlisle, by a pretty bad road in the plains. Generally on both sides, large cultivated fields.

At Mount Rock, 7 miles,—bad lodging, lonely tavern on the road. There is a mile and a little more of very stony road up to Rocky Hill. There you leave the plain and the road follows a range of very high hills. The good lands and large farms are not seen from the road. The farms near the road have been cleared for only 4 or 5 years; the ground is pretty good, but water is so scarce that these lands do not sell above £4 or £5. The new farmers all live in wretched log [?] houses without windows, and with chimneys of sticks and clay, but as the land they

[71] Matthew Henderson. See Wing, *Hist. of Cumberland Co.*, 252.

[72] In the land records of Carlisle, Pa., the names of John Nicholson and James Nicholson occur frequently. For a grant of mining land by the Commonwealth of Penna. to John Nicholson, see Cumberland County *Record Book*, vol. I, N, p. 132. No Stolker or similar name was found.

acquired yields good wheat, the price of which is so high, they are beginning to have comfort, and some are already building large barns.

At McCrake's[73] Tavern, 7 miles,—bad lodging, isolated on the road. Still the same little farms, newly cleared, and without water; the inhabitants have to get it 1 or 2 miles away from their house.

At Shippensburg,— 7miles, stopped with Reppy,[74] good house, clean, good wine, but bad food.

Mr. M. Hendresson, deputy surveyor of this district, told me that Jos.[?] Shippen's father, of Philadelphia, had bought here 3000 acres of land from the proprietors,

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Shippensburg 208½ miles

the Penns, and then tried to make here a town, but though it was begun in 1754, Shippensburg remains a poor village; the houses are near one another and form, along the highway, only one long street, more than a mile long, and many vacant lots among about 140 buildings or houses, among which there are not 30 two-stories high and built of stone; the rest are all wretched huts of wood and logs and clay. The lots are 52 feet 4 inches front, by 217 feet 4 inches deep. Why these 4 inches, is the question asked: so that the lots are exactly 4 times deeper than wide. Finally, the owners of lots are subjected to a perpetual 12 s. rent for the lots acquired before the Revolution, and 4 dollars "quit-rent" since 1783, or £25 in one

[73] Wm. McCracken, Newton Township.—Tavern Licenses, 1780–1837, in *Cumberland County Manuscripts*, vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. *McCracken's* is given on old maps of the period.

[74] Capt. Wm. Rippey.—Tavern Licenses, 1780–1837, in *Cumberland County Manuscripts*, vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. See also *Hist. of Cumb. and Adams Counties* (1886), p. 262.

payment; at which rate there are still plenty of lots to be had.

What remains of the 3000 acres is a part along the road adjoining the village—inferior quality—which Mr. Shippen sells for £6 an acre, the same price he sold the best land of these 3000 acres.

Except this inferior land of Shippen's, there remains no more uncultivated land in a larger piece than 100 or 200 acres in Franklin County. There everything is divided in 200 to 300 acre farms and no farms to be bought under £10. The lands in Franklin County's "Upper End" are very level and good. Those in Bedford County, which is situated beyond the North or Blue Mountains, are very broken and mountainous, and there are large pieces of ground, all uncultivated, to buy.

In Shippensburg, the price (November 1794) of butcher's meat is 4 to 4–½ pence, pork meat 3 to 3–½ pence, butter 1 s. to 15 pence, a barrel of flour —180 pounds— $5, wheat 1 dollar a bushel, barley 5 shillings a bushel, oats 2/6 (the army 3/6),[75] hay 8 dollars a ton.

Baltimore is the market where the produce is sent. The carting from here to Baltimore is 10 s. per barrel of flour and ½ guinea from here to Philadelphia.

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208–½ [miles]. Chambersburg.

November 8th, left Shippensburg, still following the edge of the South Mountains, though descending more towards the plain—better, or less-bad land,

[75] Army contingents, called out on account of the Whiskey Insurrection and camped in the vicinity, paid more than the usual price.

limestone land, of the 2nd rate; farms established for 5 or 6 years, whose dwellings are here and there changed for better ones, etc.

In Chambersburg, 11 miles, had luncheon at Shriock's[76]—very good inn.

At the time of General Bradoc's [Braddock's] last war against the Indians there was a fort built here; a few houses were built and Chambers, to whom the land belonged, tried to found a settlement, which for a long time remained undeveloped, but, at the time of the severing of the territory which now forms Francklin County, which was then included in Cumberland County's jurisdiction (that is to say in 1784) having been able to make Chambersburg the County Town, where the County Court had its seat, then every inhabitant went there. Chambersburg is a town well situated on Conococheague Creek. The place is very pleasant, and from the quantity of new brick houses, neatly built, it appears that the place is prosperous. There may be 300 houses; a number of mechanics for everything, several stores. The Court House is very neatly built, the jail new and strong, in which there were 6 robbers. The Creek waterfall allows the erection of 6 flour-mills in this neighborhood. There is a very well-built paper-mill, where 2 vats are working. The paper made there is good. The mill is working for Messrs. J. Scott,[77] Tower and Co.; they sell fine paper for 1 guinea a ream, consisting here of 20 quires of 24 sheets each.

[76] "Henry Shryock, Chambersburg."—Tavern licenses, in *Franklin County Manuscripts, 1788–1837* (unbound), State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[77] John Scott and Co. established a paper mill at Chambersburg in 1788.—I. H. M'Cauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin Co.* (1878), 96.

They are beginning to put sidewalks in the main street, near the market.

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219–½ [miles]

Everything is clean and full of animation. Not enough trade with the inland farmers. Mr. Chambers has a big house here. There is a printing plant for an English newspaper, once a week, for 2 dollars a year. No new church yet, only two huts where they preach in English,—Presbyterian and Church of England.

After having laid out the streets and divided the lots 64 feet front by 256 feet deep, he sold these lots in the beginning for £3, and also subjected them to a 2 dollar "quit-rent" but now you cannot get lots in the main street for less than £100, and £40 to 60 in side-streets, but these are still rather empty, except the one beginning in the middle of the main street. The inhabitants complain because there is no town-hall as in the towns laid out by the Penns. There are two brick-factories; the bricks are sold for 20 s. or 2–¾ dollars for 1000.

The land on the south of the town is better than near Shippensburg, and its nature is what is called lime-stone of the second rate; the little cleared part which the owners are willing to sell brings from £5 to 6, and for £7, 10 or 8, you find 200 to 300 acre farms, partly cleared, with house and barn. Flours and grains are sent to the Baltimore market.

At Thompson's Tavern,[78] 12–½ miles—bad lodg-

[78] Alexander Thompson, Franklin Township (since 1800 in Adams County). —Tavern licenses in *York County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. Also tax list in *Hist. of Cumberland and Adams Counties* (1886), Part

ing, on the top of the mountain; the road from Chambersburg here is very bad. It goes over the mountain range called here "South Ridge". It is hard work for the horses.

Here I met the York County surveyor, who was surveying the land of these high mountains for some speculators who lately located these lands at the land office for 6 pence per acre, being in the old purchase. It is to deceive buyers with the big words, "mill seats, timber", etc. There is hardly here and there a tillable piece of ground, but how to reach them! All the less bad of this very bad mountainous land had been taken a long time ago.

Left Thompson, and by 5 more miles of bad road, through the mountain, and the rest fair, [arrived] at

Russel's Tavern,[79] 9 miles, fair lodging for a tavern isolated on the highway, where there is no better one for 30 or 40 miles. This

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241 [miles]

Russel's Tavern is in York County, in the plain, 3 or 4 miles from the South Mountains.

In this district the soil is of different kinds; the

III, 252. Thompson's tavern must have been on or near the present property of H. W. Newman (1921), east of Graeffenburg P. O., this being an old tavern site.

[79] Probably the tavern of Joshua Russell.—See tavern licenses in *York County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. Also tax list in *Hist. of Cumberland and Adams Counties* (1886), Part III, 252. The present Adams County was a part of York County until 1800. Russell's tavern was probably at or near the present Mummasburg. Above tax list refers to Joshua Russell's tavern as a "stone house." Hence it may have been the present Carrie farm house, 3½ miles north of Gettysburg. The expense account calls the locality "Marsh Creek" (p. 90 below). This name, however, was applied to a large, ill-defined district in the early days.

price in general of the "middling good land", it is "Sklit land",[80] that is to say, clay and stones, which is not worth as much as the "lime stone land": farms are generally from 200 to 300 acres: 140 plough land, 20 meadow, 140 woods, house and barn,—bring from £6 to £10 [per acre]. Many farm hands to hire for 2/6 in the summer, and 2 s. in the winter, ½ [dollar] at "harvest time". For £20, a hired man a—year.

The land yields 12 to 15 bushels wheat, 20 bushels corn, 15 to 40 bushels buckwheat, 1 to 1–½ tons of hay.

All meadows are sown with timothy; little clover in this district.

Price of wheat, now November 1794, 7 s./6, corn 4/6 to 5, hay 6 dollars a ton, but not easy to sell, every one having enough; moreover many cattle are raised.

There are the mills of three flour merchants within a radius of a mile. They send the flour to Baltimore —64 miles. The carting from here to there costs 1 dollar a barrel. The load is 12 barrels of 180 [lbs.], drawn by 5 horses, or 4 strong ones.

Great complaint of the farmers about the misconduct, thefts, etc., of the now free negroes.

November 9th, left Russel's Tavern, and after 10 miles of level and bad land, although cleared, partly plowed, and pasture, poor farms,—then the country rises, slightly, broken by wide and low hills, better cultivated. The soil is red gravel.

At Abbots Town, 15 miles, had dinner with Jones, at the Sign of the Indian Queen,—fair lodging.

[80] On "sklit-land" see note 67, p. 58 above.

Mr. Abbot,[81] a farmer, ½ mile from here, started this place as a town or village. There are 35 houses, the principal ones are inns. The inhabitants are all Germans, descendants of Lancaster farmers. There are 2 small

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256 [miles]

German churches, one Presbytexian, the other Lutheran.

Mr. Abbot is dead and his will is such that his sons cannot sell lots until their children are of age. The location of the village is on the top of a low and very large hill. He divided the land into house-lots, 4 rods front by eleven rods deep; the first lots were sold for £5 besides a perpetual quit rent of 1 dollar. They now pay for the lots from £20 to £25, and 1 dollar quit-rent. The farms, generally of 200 acres, from £4 to £6 [per acre] and for choice and best land, as much as £10. The soil is mainly red gravel, rather good for wheat.

A cord of wood, hickory and oak, sells here for 5 shillings; a pound of butter for 10 pence.

An acre yields 12 to 16 bushels wheat, 20 bushels corn, 10 to 40 bushels buckwheat, 1 to 1–½ tons of hay. Price of wheat 9 s. a bushel. There are 2 mills in this district, which send flour to Baltimore. Price of corn 4 s./6, price of hay 6 dollars a ton. A strong and good wagon, well built, etc., costs £30.

From Abbot's Town, the country for 6 or 8 miles is a large plain, whose land is inferior and of red gravel; few farms, but a good many fields and pasture.

[81] John Abbott.—*Hist. of Cumberland and Adams Counties* (1886), Part III, p. 216.

Then the land rises gradually, larger and broader hills; the quality of the soil becomes better, generally "limestone land"; the hollows of the valleys are well watered pastures, the slopes of the high hills and the whole of the lower ones, are grain-fields, and the places where the soil is sterile are the woods, which are part of the farms. This variety of field and forest always makes a very pleasant landscape where the country is well populated, as is the case in counties where Germans have settled; on each 200 acre farm, half or a large third remains in forest.

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256 miles

At York Town, county-seat of York County, 15 miles, stopped at Springel's,[82] at the sign of ———, — very good inn. N. B. Coming from Russel's to York Town, . . . to go through Mc Collister's Town,[83] a pleasant German Catholic settlement, good road—beautiful country. The Catholic church very fine and new, on the hill-top; everything, on all sides, is cultivated or in pasture.

November 10th, stayed at York Town. The first poor German settlers arrived in this county in 1729,

[82] The nearest name found in the license records, for York Borough, is Spangler. Several of that name kept taverns at York in the early period, notably Baltzer Spangler.—Tavern Licenses, in *York County Papers* (MSS.), vol. VI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[83] Reference apparently to Hanover which was frequently called McAllister's Town from its founder, Richard McAllister.—Prowell, *Hist. of York County*, I, 807–808. See also Reily, *Conewago, A Collection of Catholic Local History* (1886).—On account of some illegible words it seems impossible to determine whether Cazenove passed through Hanover. His description of the place sounds as if he had seen it, and he may have made a side trip on his saddle horse for that purpose. On the other hand his mileage, usually quite accurate, is far from including such a detour. Since his description of the place is inserted as a note after his arrival at York it may have been merely the account of an informant at the latter place.

and in 1741 Yorktown was begun by the Proprietors, the Penns, who laid out the land for a town, and built the court-house. The lots are 56 feet front, by 250 deep, subjected to a quit-rent of from 2 to 8 dollars a lot, according to location, but the inhabitants contest this right with the Penns.

The town is in the valley, on Codorus Creek, a little river always rich in water, permitting several mills of all kinds in the neighborhood; the common is unusually spacious; otherwise the place is not pleasant, although the streets are wide and well laid out, not paved nor lighted, but a sidewalk in front of the new houses. The court-house, placed in the middle of the square, ridiculously shuts off the view of the whole of the 2 main streets.

([Side endorsement:] As in every inland town of Pennsylvania, there is a quantity of taverns and inns, where the people come to talk and drink, morning and evening, as in the cafés of European cities. Also many stores where, in each one, everything is sold at retail. You find everything necessary in utensils, clothing, and furniture, for the lower class, but nothing dainty or choice.

A new building for the offices and records, rather elegantly built, next to the court-house, which is very much disparaged by it. There may be about 400 houses, about 60 of which are of brick and newly built, the rest of "logs and mortar".

Mr. James Smith, Esq., and the families of Mr. Hartley,[84] a lawyer and congressman, Mr. Harris,[85] and General Miller,[86] have been most obliging, and

[84] Col. Thomas Hartley.—Prowell, *Hist. of York County*, I, 212.

[85] Probably William Harris.—See *Heads of Families, First U. S. Census, 1790, Penna.*, p. 281.

[86] Gen. Henry Miller.—Prowell, *Hist. of York County*, I, 205.

are the best society here. Mrs. Hall, Mr. Hartley's daughter, is a beautiful woman. ⅔ of the inhabitants are Germans and mechanics. There are 9 lawyers.

About the prices of provisions, land, lots, etc., see one of the printed papers filled in for York Town. Mr. John Forsyth, the district surveyor, can give information about the price of land, etc.

The part of Pennsylvania now forming York County was still inhabited by Indians in 1750. The first German settlers came in 1728 and settled among them, and the Indians peaceably let them cultivate the part they liked. The present landowners, farmers, are the children of these first settlers, who, after having served 3 or 4 years for the expenses

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271 miles

of the trip from Europe to America, settled on the land, and gradually thrived; several of their children, being now from 50 to 60 years old, own farms of 4, 5, and 800 acres.

November 11th, left Yorktown, by a good road and through a very well cultivated country; this and Mc Collister's districts are the best land in the county: it is the center; the two sides are mountainous and inferior lands.

At Wright's Ferry, 11 miles; it is here that you cross the Susquehanna, on good pontoons. Here the river is a mile and a quarter wide, swift current, wild and high shores. Paid for 4 people, the coach, and 5 horses, 9 s., or 1 dollar, 1 s., 6 p.

So you enter Lancaster County where the land

gets better as you go; the whole country is well cultivated and what forests the farmers keep are stocked with trees of the right kind,—chestnut, locust, walnut, maple, white oak. It is a succession of hills, not too high, and the aspect of the country is very beautiful. A perpetual change of hills and valleys gives the country a very pleasent rolling aspect and does not prevent cultivation; the farmers' houses are generally placed in the shallow valleys, formed by the slopes of 3 or 4 wide hills, cultivated to the top.

Lancaster Town, 11 miles; it is the county-seat, or the town where the Lancaster County court holds its sessions. Stopped with Stake;[87] pretty bad; I ought to have stopped with Mr. Slough,[88] where one is very comfortable.

The city of Lancaster is the largest inland city of the United States. It was founded in 17— by Mr. Hamilton,[89] the owner of this ground. He had the building-lots divided, 65 feet front, by 240 deep, subjected to a perpetual rent—"quit-rent," of 4 to 100 shillings sterling per lot, according to location, or so much in cash for the redemption of this quit-rent; but to-day Mr. Hamilton's successor gets more than £1000 a year from Lancaster's quit-rents.

The first inhabitants were Germans, and ¾ of the present inhabitants are also Germans. There is a large town-hall and several very good brick houses, several smaller ones, also of brick, and a large

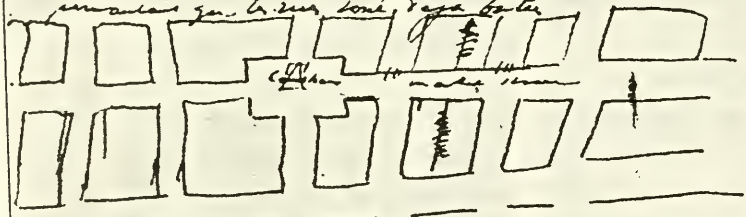
[87] Christian Stake.—Tavern licenses, in *Lancaster County Manuscripts*, vol. XV, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

[88] Probably the reference is to Matthias Slough, who kept the "White Swan" Hotel at this period.—Ellis and Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster County*, p. 396.

[89] James Hamilton, in 1730, drafted the plot of the town of Lancaster.—Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County* (1883), p. 360. Wm. Riddle, *Lancaster, Old and New* (1917), 14.

46 29 April Lancaster

que maison 1 bons. Labden, generalem attiran. grand nombre de tavern, plusieurs Magasin Store sur Boutique. peu de jolies mais de bon Trottoir. Carillon qui joüe sur 2 Colonnes qui font partie d'un tres grand nombre de Colonnes formant enfonce un terrain tres vaste d'environ 2 Acres de terre par de plus haut montagne. Le Big Conestago Creek est a coté de la ville des Indiens fournis d'eau, quoique tres interessant de voir, n'est rien auprès de Conestoga ou elle croise a son embouchure la grand. Longue rue principale & celle plus connu qui la croise entre la maison de ville / court house / de meilleur quartier: la maison de ville / court house / est nouvellement progressement batie, mais au milieu de la place qui n'est pas fort grand. le plan de la ville est a l'ancienne. philadelphie



L'amaison de Mr. le Gl. Ross est la plus remarquable. Les Indiens sont tellement attaché aux fort bien batie en briques de la chaleur [illegible] le mien contient le plus elegant de E. les dommages quelle fesoit coleparts de 4 Evangelistes mis de metal très petites. Les environs de la ville sont tres agreable. Le general Hand a reformé à l'Epoque mais subsiste toujours comme dans la retraite on ne fait rien entrer. La maison Orphanage est la famille Coventry plus jolie. la famille de Hubley Keller, Rupp, Reigh sont fort obligeant pour etranger. on donne particulierement mais des Thés jolies en abondance. Le jeune dans quelques uns avec fort bien mis et agreable comme le Dandy petit maitre: generalement les femmes / Demoiselles de ce quartier ne sont pas avoir les formes aussi belles, de la portures de tête dans, et bon air, peu de grace de la marche pas fort alerte le plus commun est commun à appuyer en peu. Enfin je n'ai d'autre le grand regret de l'enfer de la Gomme de sapotier ou feuille pour la Bryone accompagné [illegible] d'une [illegible]

number of log houses in the less conspicuous parts. About 900 houses

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293 miles *Lancaster*

and 6000 inhabitants, mainly mechanics—many taverns, several stores or shops; not paved or lighted, but good sidewalks. The city is situated on 2 hills, which are part of a very great number of hills, forming thus a very large and [comparatively] level land, surrounded on all sides by higher mountains. The Big Conestoga Creek is near the city, and always full of water, although it is too much intercepted by rocks to be navigable as far as the Susquehanna where this creek has its mouth.

The broad and long main street and the shorter one which crosses it at the court-house, the best quarter; the court-house is newly and neatly built, but is in the middle of the square, which, to begin with, is not very large. The city plan is like Philadelphia's, so far as the streets already built up are concerned.[90]

The house of General Ross[91] is the most notable. The new German Lutheran church is very well built, of brick, and its steeple is the best built and the most elegant one in the United States. It is a pity that the immense statues of the 4 Evangelists are too small by half. The city surroundings are very pleasant. General Hand[92] has his farm ½ mile away on Conestoga Creek; its location is very

[90] At this point in his Journal Cazenove made a rough diagram of the principal streets of Lancaster, showing the courthouse in the center square.

[91] Probably James Ross.—Harris, *Biographical Hist. of Lancaster County*, 508.

[92] General Edward Hand.—See Ellis and Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster County*, 44-45.

country-like, the house good, and the family very polite. The families of Hubley[93] (lawyer), Ketter[94] (lawyer), Ross[95] (senator), Sainseigher[96] (merchant), are very obliging to strangers. Few dinners are given here, but many tea parties. The young ladies I saw here are very well dressed, very much like Philadelphia ladies. Generally the young women and girls of this district seemed to me to have a rather pretty figure, good carriage, beautiful teeth and hair, not much grace, nor very easy manners. The most notable ones are beginning to learn a little music, but after all, the large number of children and limited fortunes do not permit of the expenditure for a refined education, so

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293 [miles] *Lancaster*

a lone harpsichord teacher can hardly live, and the drawing teacher has only 2 or 3 pupils, although they have been here only 2 years, and by the determination of 1 [?] lady.

During the Fair, which lasts for three days in June, and while Court is held (which is once every 3 months) all the County farmers and their children always come to Lancaster and then everything is good cheer. All the young farmers, men and women, must have pleasure, as they have none the rest of the year: people say that nothing is more interesting

[93] John Hubley.—Harris, *Biographical Hist. of Lancaster County*, 322–323.

[94] John W. Kittera.—Harris, *Biographical Hist. of Lancaster County*, 345.

[95] There was at this time a United States Senator from Penna. by the name of James Ross who may possibly have been residing temporarily in Lancaster at this time.—*Biographical Congressional Directory*, 967.

[96] Paul Zantzinger, who manufactured clothing on a large scale during the Revolution, and later.—Ellis and Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster County*, 369.

than their loud joy and the big kisses exchanged everywhere by the sweet-hearts who fill the streets. So, young people have an opportunity to see each other, and marriages follow, while the fathers get drunk in the taverns.

About prices of provisions, building lots, land, etc., see one of the printed papers filled for Lancaster.

There are many flour-mills on the large and small Conestoga creeks, where much flour is made for the Philadelphia market. The millers are very rich. There are many Lancaster farmers who own as much as 10, 15, 20 thousand £, in land, and funds lent on mortgages on other lands. This does not keep them from coming with their long linen-trousers, and themselves driving a cart-load of wood to the Lancaster market. See folio [?][97]

I saw the "patent-stove", invented by Mr. Hietrick. The principle seems good to me, but there are many inconveniences which experience will change.

Stayed in Lancaster until November 13th, and [then passing] continuously through an extensively cultivated country, where farms are adjoining, good limestone land, fine barns, large grain-fields, hickory, walnut, and white oak wood, [arrived at]

Mc Clahan's Tavern,[98] 16 miles, pretty bad tavern, isolated on the highway.

In this district farms are from 200 to 300 acres, and thus larger than near Lancaster—still good land

[97] Perhaps a reference to page 60 of manuscript, see p. 82 below.

[98] John McCleland, Salisbury Township.—Tavern licenses, in *Lancaster County Manuscripts*, vol. XV, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa. The servant who kept the expense account indicated Pequea as the location of this tavern. See p. 91 below.

and beautiful country (lime stone land). You have to pay for farms with "improvements" from £15 to £20 an acre. I went to see here Leonard Elmaker's farm. It is of 320 acres, 200 of which are cultivated. There is also a flour-mill and one for wood. He is a very rich farmer of the district; the whole family (7 children) were having a very bad dinner around a very dirty little table, and the furniture in the main room was not worth 200 dollars, and the whole farm is like those already mentioned. They say he is worth £15,000 at least [?].

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309 [miles]. *Chester County*

November 14th, left Mc Clahan's Tavern, through part of Lancaster [County], still fine land and beautiful meadows, 2 miles; then entered Chester County where for 10 miles the land is less level, more broken by very high hills, generally "barren land", but afterwards you go down in the valley and arrive at

Downing's Town [Downingtown], Chester County, 16–½ miles; stopped at Downing's,[99] at the sign of Washington, very good inn. N. B. 33 miles from Philadelphia.

In this county, farms are generally about 300 acres, half of which remains as woods—generally lime-stone land; a farm with house and good barn, orchard, etc., sells for £12 [per acre] in the valley, and the price of land on the mountain, bordering

[99] Hunt Downing.—Tavern licenses in *Chester County Manuscripts*, vol. XI, State Library, Harrisburg.—See also Futhey and Cope, *Hist. of Chester County* (1881), p. 419.—The old inn is still standing (1921) in the eastern outskirts of Downingtown and is occupied as a private residence.

the valley, called "hill-land", sells for £3 and is kept by the farmers for woodland for their farm use. Generally everything is grain-land or sown in clover, when they give it a rest. They fertilize their soil with lime, taken from their land, and with plaster of Paris; this latter gives a good yield in hay.

An acre in the good valley land generally yields 15 to 20 bushels of wheat, but these last 2 or 3 years they have been annoyed in this district by the Hessian fly and this year (1794) by mildew—so they cultivate corn more extensively, and sow their fields in clover, because when there is not enough wheat sown, the Hessian fly attacks barley; 30 to 35 bushels corn [per acre], 20 to 25 bushels barley, 1–½ to 2 or 2–½ tons of clover in 2 cuttings.

Send their flour and produce to Philadelphia—many mills, a few forges near the mountain, where there is plenty of wood, but no mines.

Very few Germans in this county, except in the 3 townships Spikland [Pikeland], Vincent, and Coventry. English Presbyterians and Quakers prevail in this county, also many Anabaptists in the 3 above townships.

The price for transportation from here to Philadelphia is 15 to 18 pence a 100 pounds, and 2 s./6. for a barrel of flour.

You find

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325–½ [miles]. *Chester County*

very easily in this district workmen to help with harvest for 3 s. a day, with meals and a pint of whiskey.

There is here a good English school for reading, writing and arithmetic.

Beef sells here for 3 to 3–½ [pence] a pound, pork 5 to 6 dollars a 100 pound, and they send it to the Philadelphia market and sell it to the Philadelphia butchers for from 6 to 7 dollars a 100 pound. The price of butter is 14 pence here and is sent to the Philadelphia market.

The smallness of grain-crop, since the Hessian fly [came], causes all the Chester County farmers to attend to poultry raising, making butter, putting their land in pasture, all clover, no timothy, and raising cattle for the Philadelphia market.

Mr. Joseph Downing, a farmer here, has his farm of more than a thousand acres, almost all in the valley. Here they tried late sowing last year, not until near September 20th, in order to avoid the Hessian fly, but they regretted it, as there was no harvest at all, having had first drought after sowing and then it was too late in the season for the grain to develop. Now they try to use much fertilizer. They sow here 3 "pecks" of wheat per acre, that is to say ¾ of a bushel, as 4 "pecks" make a bushel.

They find that for cattle-feed, it is better to plant potatoes than turnips.

They pay county tax 24 to 40 shillings, poor tax 24 to 40, road tax 12 to 20, according to the size of the farms. Church (free), the richest one pays from 2 to 3 dollars.

Every house and barn is built of limestone, no brick-factories. The quality of land in Chester County is quite varied; the county is crossed in the north and south by 2 rows of mountains, not

very high, but too high to be estimated of great value for cultivation. The land of the south mountains (chestnut) £3 an acre. The land of the north mountains, generally oak, for £3 an acre.[100]

The land south of the mountains is fair, and is worth £7 to £8 an acre, for 2 or 300 acre farms. The wood on the south mountains chiefly chestnut.

The valley where the land is level and "lime-stone". Farms with improvements, that is to say in activity [?], and ½ in cultivation, are worth £12 an acre.

The land in the north, beyond the mountains is sklit-stone,[101] stony, but good for grain, is worth from £5 to £6 an acre, for 2 to 400 acre farms. N. B. The trees on the north mountains are generally oak.

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325–½ [miles]

November 15th, left Downings T. [Downingtown], passing through a country partly level, partly broken with hills, near [?] [arrived] at

Fornistak's Tavern,[102] 10 miles, rather bad lodging, on the highway. This Fornistak belongs to the Tunkers [Dunkers] sect (all Germans), and consequently has a long beard, takes Saturday for his rest and church-day, has been baptised by immersion

[100] The three next following paragraphs Cazenove arranged in parallel columns and sketched a mountain range between the first and second, and another range between the second and third paragraphs.

[101] On "sklit land" see note 67, p. 58 above.

[102] This was the old Warren Tavern, still standing (1921), kept in 1794 by Caspar Fahnestock and his son Charles. Sachse, *The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside* (1912), 55 ff. See also *Chester County Manuscripts*, vol. XI, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.

and when he is in a Church of his denomination, has a right to give his opinion when the minister is through preaching, etc. The seat of this sect is in Euphrata [Ephrata], a village of Lancaster County, in Pennsylvania: there live those who do not marry, sisters in one house, brothers in another. There are now in Euphrata [Ephrata] only 13 sisters and 6 brothers unmarried: their clothing is a kind of robe of grayish wool, long, with a hood nearly like the Carthusian friars. Their system is intensified anabaptism. The sect is gradually dying out. Those who live in Euphrata [Ephrata] and who are unmarried, have their money in common. But every detail on this sect is found in Morse, *Geography*, Volume I, page 262. Boston, 1793. Mr. Fornistak showed me a big quarto, printed in Euphrata [Ephrata], 1752, "Sectionen betrostend das Schule des Einsamen Lebens" [sic].

At Miller's Tavern,[103] 12 miles—good inn, on the road. Here farms are generally 150 acres. The price in general average, £10 an acre; "clay soil, poor ground, most worn out"; the short distance from Philadelphia is its great value.

November 16th, 1794, arrived in the morning at Philadelphia, 11 miles, making altogether 358–½ miles, through the Jerseys in the counties ————, and in Pennsylvania through the counties, Northampton, Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, York, Lancaster, Chester.

[103] The old Buck Inn, still standing (1921) between Haverford and Bryn Mawr. In the tavern licenses of Delaware County "John Miller, Haverford" is given in 1796, and "Jonathan Miller," 1797.—*Unbound Manuscripts*, State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.—Jonathan Miller owned the Buck Inn property from 1794 until his death about 1840. From this old inn Washington wrote one of his most famous despatches to Congress, Sept. 15, 1777.

From October 21 to November 16, making 26 days, spent during the trip, in a 4 horse-coach, and [with] a saddle horse, coachman, postilion, Petit and myself, 5 horses, 4 people, dollars ——. Everywhere in the best inns; the horses well fed; had breakfast, luncheon, and dinner. One rainy day, two snowy ones, November 14th and 15th,—all the other days dry, and magnificent weather; often the sun was so hot that I was obliged to put up my carriage-hood, because I was inconvenienced by the heat of the sun. Generally roads which must be nearly impassable after rain.

[Here follows a rough diagram in semicircles indicating, as follows, the author's idea of the various layers of Pennsylvania population.]

First nucleus, Quakers.

Second layer, Germans.

Third layer, beyond the Susquehanna, Irish and Scotch.

Fourth layer, beyond the mountains, Irish, Scotch, New Englanders.

Pages 51–59 of Manuscript

[Some of these pages are blank, or only partially filled. Such writing as there is, consists of scores, even hundreds, of questions or topics, apparently for the guidance of the author in securing information, chiefly about farms and farming. The following, from the beginning of page 54, is given by way of illustration:]

When do new settlers arrive?

During what season do they go there and how?

What do they own?

How do they live?

How long does it take for his farm to produce a living for him?

[Such questions cover, among many others, the following topics: clearing land, building houses and barns, making maple sugar, temperature in winter and summer, native fruits, fish, game, progress of emigration, farming methods, fertilizer, mills, stores, transportation of products, roads, bridges, social life, etc., etc.—*Page 59* refers apparently to a projected journey by the author or his agent through central New York, with some "special questions after having passed Schenectady." For example:]

What is the produce of a 150-acre farm?

Who makes the roads and keeps them in good condition?

What means for produce-transportation—what price *by water* [?] per ton to Fort Stanwix, Oswego, Geneva, Canandaigua, Niagara?

How long to arrive there—dangers?

How much will the Western Canal shorten the time and expense of shipping?

How many boats used on the Mohawk—their cost—where built—expense of up-keep?

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German Farmers.

They give as the reason for the lack of neatness and improvements of the farms, which the rich farmers own in Pennsylvania, that generally the father, when he dies, leaves the farm to his oldest son, mortgaged or in debt for the other children's shares. Then the new owner exerts himself and employs all his savings in the payment of the debt;

so being used to think only of making money, he keeps on after he has paid out. Very often also the father, having many sons, buys farms part cash and part time-payment and gives this farm to his son, but indebted: the desire to pay for it is the son's great preoccupation, and being brought up in privation and used to look at wealth as the only good and at enjoyment as nothing, so used to doing nothing but earn money to pay for his farm, he continues until his death, and it is so from father to son.

I visited several farms in the famous Lancaster County—belonging to farmers known to be worth from 10 to 15 thousand pounds. I found them having for dinner potatoes, bacon, and buckwheat cakes; tin goblets, a dirty little napkin instead of a table cloth, on a large table—for downstairs rooms, a kitchen and a large room with the farmer's bed and the cradle, and where the whole family stays all the time; apples and pears drying on the stove, a bad little mirror, a walnut bureau—a table—sometimes a clock; on the second floor, tiny little rooms where the family sleep on pallets, with curtains, without furniture.

No care is taken to keep the entrance to the house free of stones and mud—not one tree—not one flower. In the vegetable garden, weeds intermingled with cabbages and a few turnips and plants. In brief, with the exception of

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the size of the barn and a larger cultivated area, you do not distinguish between the rich Pennsylvania farmer and the poor farmer of other states.

In the Downings Town [Downingtown] inn, Chester County, where I spent the night there were that same evening 14 Lancaster farmers; each one was driving a big 4-horse wagon, with 12 barrels of flour, to Philadelphia. I found them in a room next to the kitchen, all lying on the floor in a circle, their feet to the fire, each one on one or two bags of oats which they have with them to feed the horses on the way; they were covered with a poor blanket, no cap, and all dressed;—this lodging did not cost them anything—the inn keeper gave them this shelter to be able to sell them the small quantity of liquor they buy. In this group there were farmers known to be worth from £6000 to 8000 in good land, and money lent on mortgage upon good lands.

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Although several German farmers in Berks, Dauphin, and Lancaster Counties, have fine stone houses, 2 stories high, with English windows, etc., the inside is almost unfurnished; in the large fine room an immense stove on which the dishes are still standing; potatoes and turnips on the floor; beds generally without curtains, no mirror, nor good chairs, nor good tables and wardrobes.

Probably one of the causes of this slovenliness and lack of comfort is that they do not know any better, for the German farmers who cross the Susquehanna to settle there, and especially the younger generation, take more the habits of the Irish who like comfort more. You notice especially the clothing of the German farmers and their wives who have an opportunity to see other examples than their

father's and mother's; they have English or American clothing, and from clothes it will pass to house-furnishings, etc.

Pages 63 to 65 of Manuscript

[Blank.]

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[Very rough and scrappy notes on a trip, taken or projected. Mention of Sunbury, Bald Eagle, Penn's Valley, Buffalo Valley, Northumberland County, Carlisle, Lewis Town, Juniata County, Lancaster, Conewago Creek, Shippensburg; references to iron works and iron mines; Col. Patent [?]; Mr. Miles or Miller, of Philadelphia; Mr. Foster; several names of people and places are nearly or quite illegible.]

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[Rough notes on a trip, taken or projected, from Bethlehem to Wind Gap, and Stroud's tavern.] There ask about Major Smith, whom I saw in Philadelphia, and see him, who lives 2 miles away from Stroud's, who will tell me whether to go further to see the new town which Mr. Bides (sic) is building on the Delaware, in Upper Smithfield.

This Major Smith, who came to offer me land in his district (May 27th) is French; has been an officer in the army of Congress; seems to be a well bred man, who lives secluded on his farm, where he has his library and studies chemistry, etc.

It will be a good opportunity to know this district well—his son was a Captain of Hussars, and lately came to join him.

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[Blank.]

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[Rough notes.]

To see part of the interior of Pennsylvania Mr. Pollock advised me to go from Philadelphia to Reading.

[Montclare (?), Birdsboro, Wilson's iron-works and iron-mines, Mifflin's farm; there to Harrisburg; Silver Spring Tavern, Mr. Pollock's, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Conewago, York, Lancaster.]

Everywhere the best lodgings are at the taverns where the stages stop, but choose the days when the stages do not arrive.

At Shippensburg ask if I can find good lodgings, and roads to go ahead to see Skinner's, Bedford, Berlin, Galatin (sic).

Read in Morse [Geography] what to see; and letters for these places.

N. B.—Indication of the road to Asylum.

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[Blank.]

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[Rough notes concerning a trip, taken or projected, from Philadelphia to New York through Bethlehem, Easton, Jersey, Morristown.]

5 miles from Bethlehem, Mr. Lawrence's [?]. The Nicholson Co. coal mine is about 30 miles from Bethlehem on the Lehigh River, not far from Fort Allen, and on the [Tunkhannock] Creek.

To Nazareth.

The Dunkers.

From there go to see the Wind Gap, in the Blue Mountains, about 20 miles—formerly the bed of

the Delaware. From there return towards the Delaware and cross it to go through Easton into Jersey. Spring . . . [?] iron mines.

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[The following expense account of the trip was probably kept by Petit, the servant of Mr. Cazenove. His gift apparently did not lie in the field of spelling. His words are a mixture of French and English, both constantly misspelled. Many places mentioned can be made out only by reference to the itinerary as given in the main body of the journal. The editor has therefore made it into English as best he could without burdening the text too much with the conventional editorial signs. The critical scholar is referred to the original manuscript.]

MEMORANDUM OF ALL THE EXPENSES INCURRED ON YOUR ENTIRE TRIP.

Oct., Sept. and Nov. 1794
through Pennsylvania. [The preceding, in italics, is in the handwriting of Mr. Cazenove. It was probably added later when he did not recollect the exact dates. The time of the trip did not include September.]

Pd. for transporting carriage and horses from Brooklyn to Port Hook [?] [Paulus Hook]	1–12–
For the ferryman	3– 9
Pd. the ferry, for you, for me, and the baggage	1– 6
Pd. to have the baggage hauled from the home of Mr. Le Roy	

	("Roiy") to the ferry	2– 6
	Given to the servant of Mr. Le Roy	16–
	Pd. for crossing the ferry from New York to Port Hook [?] [Paulus Hook]	4– 3
	Pd. for the food of horses and "de quite" [Apparently the stop for lunch]	1– 3– 6
	For the boy	– 2–
	Pd. for ferrying two rivers [probably the Hackensack and Passaic]	–12–
	Pd. at Newark for one day and two nights	4–12– 3
	For the stable-boy who recovered the baggage that was stolen	7– 6
	For the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for dinner [at Chatham]	1– 0– 0
Oct.	1794	
24th	Pd. for the night [at Hanover]	1– 4– 8
	For the boy and the maid	3
25th	Pd. for the night at Morristown	1– 7– 3
	For the boy and the maid	3– 6
26th	Pd. for the night at Black River	2– 4– 6
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for dinner	10– 6
	For the boy	1– 3
		£16–19– 5

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[Oct.]		£16–19– 5
27th	The night at [McIntyre's] in Greenwich	1– 4– 1
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
28th	The night at Easton	1– 8–11
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for the ferry	3– 6
	Pd. for greasing, and horse-shoeing	3– 9
29th	Pd. for the night at Nazareth	2– 4–
	For the boy and the maid	3–9
	For soap, gloves, candle, and a book	1– 4–
30th	The night at Bethlehem	1–18– 2
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	For an engraving	2– 6
	Pd. for the ferry, at Allentown	1–10½
	For refreshments	7– 6
	For the night at Kutztown	1–10– 6
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for refreshments	7– 6
November		
2nd	For two nights at Reading	4–10–
	For the boy and the maid	7– 6
	Pd. for dinner	15– 6
3rd	The night at Myerstown	1–17– 6
	For the boy and the maid	3
4th	The night at Lebanon	2–10– 8
	For the maid	2
5th	The night at Hummelstown	2– 1– 7
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
		£41– 6–

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[Nov.]		£41– 6– 0
	Pd. "a quite" half dollar in order to see the cave	3– 9
	For mending the carriage pole	1
6th	The night at Harrisburg	2– 7– 3
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
7th	The night at Carlisle	2–16– 2
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for having the horses fed	7– 6
8th	The night at Shippensburg	1–15– 6
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	For lunch at "Roumetonne" [Chambersburg!]	15–
	For the boy	1
9th	The night at Marsh Creek	1– 9– 5
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	For refreshments at Abbotts-town	9– 6
10th	Two nights at York	4–16–11
	For the boy and the maid	7– 6
	For shoeing the horses and mending the carriage	15– 6
11th	Pd. for refreshments at [Wright's] ferry, and for ferrying	18– 6
12th	Two nights at Lancaster	5–12– 0
	For the boy and the maid	6
	Two pairs of chickens [?]	3
	Pd. for the bridge	1– 6
		£65– 8– 0

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[Nov.]		£65– 8– 0
13th	The night at Pequea tavern	1–14– 4
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	For brandy	1– 6
14th	The night at [Downingtown]	1–15– 3
	For the boy	3– 9
15th	The night at Miller's Tavern	2– 5– 1
	For the boy and the maid	3– 9
	Pd. for the ferry [across Schuylkill River]	2
17th	Pd. the little postilion for 15 days and a half, at the rate of two dollars a day, plus one dollar as a tip, makes	12– 0– 0
		£83–17– 5

	in dollars	223–⅔
Received for the trip,		269 dollars
Deduct above expenses,		223–⅔ dollars
	leaves	45–⅓ dollars in favor of Mr. C.

[Note:—Toward the last of the above account, some of the dates and places seem not to tally with the itinerary of the main journal. The correct place has been inserted in brackets in a few cases. It is possible that the accounts of the last few days were made out from memory after the journey was ended. Some places also are omitted, perhaps because Cazenove paid the bills personally at those places.]

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